

JOURNAL OF ARMY SPECIAL OPERATIONS HISTORY

# Veritas





The articles in this 'spectrum' issue of *Veritas* cover World War II, Korean War-era psywar, and post-Vietnam Missing in Action (MIA) resolution. Daring Commando cross-channel raids along the coast of German-occupied Europe heartened the beleaguered English, who were suffering heavy Nazi bombing throughout 1940. The American people linked the Commandos with Major (Robert) Rogers' Rangers who took England's fight with France to the New World (1754-1763 French and Indian War). The 'blockbuster' Technicolor film, *Northwest Passage*, released in 1940 was a major influence. Though the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor led to a declaration of war, it was this Commando/Ranger spirit that transformed a moribund U.S. Army composed of woefully unfit infantrymen and weak officers into a colossal military powerhouse by 1945.

Elizabeth P. 'Betty' McIntosh, like Julia Child in southern Asia, was among the handful of women research assistants in the OSS administration, who got overseas and worked in Morale Operations (MO). Even fewer were in OSS Special Intelligence (SI). Those who were became integrated in the British SOE for operational employments like French native, U.S. Army SGT Herbert R. Brucker, OSS Special Operations (SO), 'seconded' to SOE. When assigned field duty with Detachment 404 in China, the later SF major was just OSS. A well-decorated WWI infantry commander, Major General John R. Hilldring became a Military Government giant in World War Two. This Civil Affairs icon merited a solid biographical essay to make him more familiar to the ARSOF community.

The 2nd Loudspeaker & Leaflet (L&L) Company, activated early in the Korean War, supported friendly and aggressor forces during corps-level maneuvers in the United States. It practiced Psywar outside Fort Hood, TX, Camp Drum, NY, Fort Campbell, KY, and in areas adjacent to Fort Bragg, NC. After being reassigned to Third U.S. Army, the 2nd L&L was subordinated to the 6th Radio Broadcasting & Leaflet (RB&L) Group supporting the Special Warfare Center. The Joint Casualty Recovery Center (JCRC) was formed while U.S. troop withdrawals were ongoing from South Vietnam. Its purpose was to resolve the fate of 2,500+ MIA (missing in action) in Southeast Asia. Retired Air Force LTC Paul D. Mather, an original 'plank holder' and author of *M.I.A.: Accounting for the Missing* (1994), the definitive book on the topic, shared a vast document collection, accumulated during his thirteen years of service with JCRC. Mather's files made this emotionally sensitive article very personal. Thanks to everyone for the strong support of *Veritas*. We remain true to our purpose. CHB

## USASOC HISTORY OFFICE

### Command Historian & Editor

Charles H. Briscoe, PhD  
910-432-3732 / charles.briscoe@soc.mil

### Deputy Command Historian & Associate Editor

Michael E. Krivdo, PhD  
910-908-0939 / michael.krivdo@soc.mil

### Associate Editors

Eugene G. Piasecki  
910-432-9780 / eugene.g.piasecki@soc.mil

Troy J. Sacquety, PhD  
910-432-9324 / sacquett@soc.mil

Jared M. Tracy, PhD  
910-396-5906 / jared.tracy@soc.mil

### Design

Daniel W. Telles  
Art Director / tellesd@soc.mil

Laura Goddard  
Designer / laura.goddard@soc.mil

Mariano Santillan  
Illustrator / mariano@santillan.cc

**Veritas:** *Veritas* is published by the United States Army Special Operations Command, Fort Bragg, North Carolina (ISSN 1553-9830). The contents are not necessarily the official views of, nor endorsed by, the U.S. Government, Department of Defense, USSOCOM, or USASOC. The contents are compiled, edited, and prepared by the USASOC History Office. All photos not credited are courtesy of the USASOC History Office.

**Copyright:** Material in *Veritas* may be reprinted, except where copyrighted, provided credit is given to *Veritas* and the creators.

**Copies:** Copies of previous *Veritas* issues are no longer available. A limited number of the current issue is maintained at the USASOC History Office.

**Permission to Reprint:** Reprinting well-received *Veritas* articles in a modified version and/or without the documentation (endnotes) degrades serious historical scholarship. If this professional courtesy cannot be accorded, requests will be denied. Permission to use photographs from private collections was granted only to the USASOC History Office. These photos, like the illustrative sketches, customized maps, and schematics used in *Veritas* articles are NOT available for public use.

**Questions:** Address questions and comments to **USASOC, ATTN: AOHS Veritas, E-2929 Desert Storm Drive, Fort Bragg, NC 28310**, or e-mail one of our editors.

**Firewalls and Spam Filters:** DOD computer firewalls routinely place unrecognized addresses into a Junk E-Mail box. Encryption is another problem. Personal computer spam blockers further delay and negate responses. Therefore, if you would like your e-mail answered, please adjust your personal spam blocker before you send a message. Thanks.

**Submissions:** Submit manuscripts, art, illustrations, and photos to the address above. Digital format is preferred. All article submissions must cover ARSOF topics from WWII to the present, be based on primary sources, and have active participant voice. See articles in *Veritas* for examples. Please provide contact information for all submissions. If you have an article topic that falls outside these key parameters, please email one of our editors. The USASOC History Office reserves the right to edit all submissions for publication.

**Subscriptions:** Those wishing to subscribe to *Veritas*, should write to **USASOC, ATTN: AOHS Veritas (Dr. Tracy), E-2929 Desert Storm Drive, Fort Bragg, NC 28310** or email Dr. Tracy at [jared.tracy@soc.mil](mailto:jared.tracy@soc.mil). Please include affiliation to Army Special Operations or list any applicable military service. This helps us build a support network for future *Veritas* articles. If you send an email and do not receive a response, it is likely because firewalls or spam filters are being constantly upgraded. If this is the case please assume that we did not get your message.



34

# CONTENTS

## IFC Azimuth

By Charles H. Briscoe

## 1 Commando & Ranger Training Part II, Preparing America's Soldiers for War

The Second U.S. Army Ranger School  
& Division Programs

By Charles H. Briscoe

## 16 Voice of the U.S. and Aggressors

The 2nd Loudspeaker & Leaflet Company

By Jared M. Tracy

## 32 Setting the 'Rising Sun'

The WWII Service of Psywarrior Elizabeth McIntosh

By Troy J. Sacquety

## 34 VIETNAM Casualty Resolution

Top U.S. Peace Priority

By Charles H. Briscoe

## 49 Major General John Henry Hildring

By Troy J. Sacquety

## 60 160th SOAR 35th Anniversary

Announcement

By COL Michael J. Hertzendorf

## 61 Addition to the U.S. Army Special Operations Command Memorial Plaza

By Eugene G. Piasecki

## ERRATA

"The Mataxis Legacy" Vol 11, No 1, 42. BG Theodore C. Mataxis' final assignment was Chief, Military Equipment Delivery Team, Cambodia (MEDTC), not Military Equipment Deployment Team, Cambodia, Feb 71 - Feb 72.





# COMMANDO

Part II, Preparing America's Soldiers for War

# & RANGER

*The Second U.S. Army Ranger School & Division Programs*

# TRAINING

by Charles H. Briscoe





# “We are here to toughen men for dirty work,”

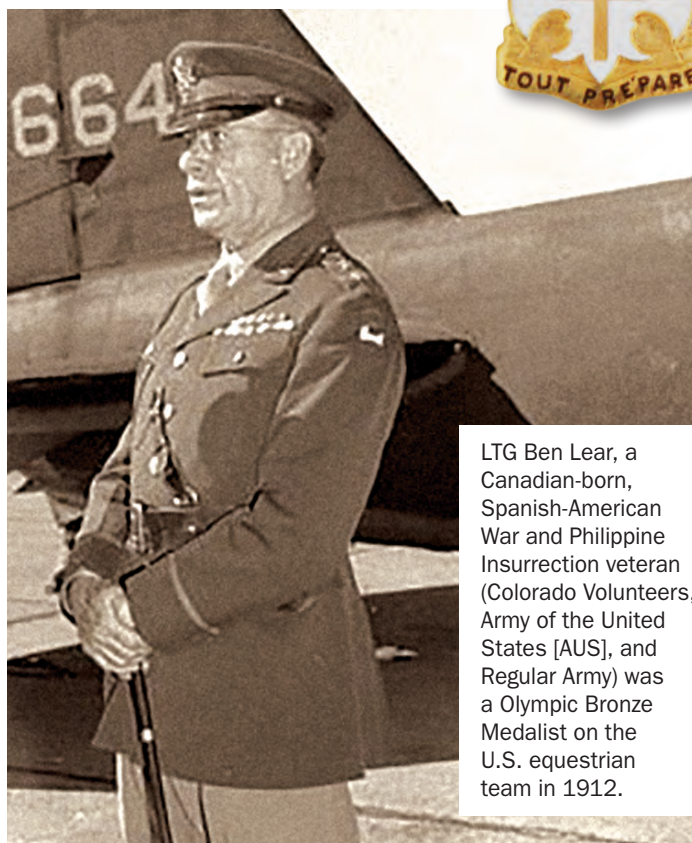
—LTG Ben Lear, Second U.S. Army commander

## Commando & Ranger Training: Part I

explained differences between the provisional American ‘Ranger Battalions’ organized and trained in the United Kingdom (1<sup>st</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> Ranger Battalions [29<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division {ID}]) during World War II and the division Commando Task Forces (CTF) specially trained to spearhead unit assault landings at the U.S. Army Amphibious Training Center (ATC) at Camp Edwards, Cape Cod, Massachusetts. Having gotten short notice in the late spring of 1942 to relocate the ATC to newly built Camp Gordon Johnston, Carrabelle, Florida, the curriculum was changed to accommodate scheduling. Tragically, Brigadier General (BG) Frank A. Keating cut the CTF concept in order to begin Commando training for all 38<sup>th</sup> ID soldiers in November.<sup>1</sup>

It was almost serendipitous that a violent storm would strike the Florida ‘Panhandle’ in the middle of the 38<sup>th</sup> ID landings on 18-19 December 1942. Radios failed and control was lost. Barrage balloons were destroyed and equipment simply vanished. Landing craft, driven ashore, were scattered twenty miles along the coast. Fourteen soldiers drowned. Thus, in January 1943, BG Keating coordinated Amphibious Scout training with the U.S. Marine Reconnaissance unit posted at Fort Pierce, Florida, to give the 28<sup>th</sup> ID regiments experienced invasion ‘spearheaders’ for the assault landings.<sup>2</sup> The ‘Keystone’ Division was the last reinforced division to get Army-conducted amphibious training in the States. When the Navy changed its doctrinal position to ship-to-shore amphibious operations in March 1943, the Army transferred the ATC mission to theater

Distinctive Unit Insignia (DUI)  
for Second U.S. Army.



LTG Ben Lear, a Canadian-born, Spanish-American War and Philippine Insurrection veteran (Colorado Volunteers, Army of the United States [AUS], and Regular Army) was a Olympic Bronze Medalist on the U.S. equestrian team in 1912.



**“We are scratching the bottom of the barrel now for officer candidates. We are decidedly short of noncommissioned officer leaders. We will pay for this dearly in combat.”**

—LTG Ben Lear wrote in a letter to LTG Leslie J. McNair, AGF commander, 22 October 1942<sup>9</sup>

commanders. The European Theater of Operations (ETO) established its U.S. Assault Training Center at Woolacombe Beach, Devon, England.<sup>3</sup> Though American military attitudes changed on Commando training, its benefits for building junior leaders had not been lost on the Second U.S. Army commander, Lieutenant General (LTG) Ben Lear.

**The purpose of this article** is to explain the mission of the short-lived Second U.S. Army Ranger School at Camp Nathan Bedford Forrest, Tullahoma, Tennessee, its divisional ‘Ranger’ training philosophy, and selected divisional programs. Two early postwar Army Ground Forces (AGF) studies, *A History of the Second Army* and *The Amphibious Training Center*, some WWII commemorative division histories, interviews of ‘Ranger’ veterans, and official records form the foundation of this article.<sup>5</sup> General Lear was determined to employ realistic, hard combat training to develop physically tough small unit leaders. That philosophy is embedded in today’s Ranger School.<sup>6</sup>

In the months following the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor, the United States had to mobilize for war and the War Department had to organize, equip, and train a moribund military to fight and defeat combat-hardened Japanese, German, and Italian forces across the world. The Second U.S. Army, one of four field training armies, was to prepare a million men in units ranging from division to battalion for war. Division commanders, facing severe resource constraints, focused on toughening soldiers, physically and mentally, for ground combat. That could be done ‘on the cheap.’ Second Army’s strong, no nonsense leader, General Lear, set about ‘steeling his troops’ for the rigors of battle. He expanded upon the directives of LTG Leslie J. McNair, the Army Ground Forces (AGF) commander, for live-fire ‘battle inoculations,’ obstacle courses, and street fighting in different environments to build tough junior leaders (officers and sergeants).<sup>7</sup>

Observing the North African landings in 1942, LTG Leslie James McNair, the commander, Army Ground Forces (AGF), was badly wounded by artillery fire. While doing the same in France in 1944, he was killed by errant U.S. bombers near St. Lô, France. LTG Ben Lear succeeded him.



In the Louisiana Maneuvers held in the fall of 1941, General Lear commanded the Red Army (Second U.S. Army) against LTG Walter Krueger’s Blue Army (Third U.S. Army). Lear had been very displeased with the field performances of his senior commanders and all officers in general. He was disgusted with the poor physical stamina of the infantrymen.<sup>8</sup>

The Second Army commander set about remedying these problems with the middle Tennessee maneuvers in the summer of 1942 and by establishing a Ranger School at Camp Forrest, Tennessee. He moved a corps headquarters to Camp Forrest to support both and relocated the Second Army from Chicago to Memphis to be personally involved. “We are here to toughen men for dirty work,” commented LTG Lear on his decisions.<sup>10</sup>

The Second Army leader agreed with William J. Donovan, the founder of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), that to ‘rekindle the spirit of the attack’ meant resurrecting historical traditions of fighting—scouts, raiders, and rangers.<sup>11</sup> Lear believed that American soldiers must learn to fight dirtier than the enemy and be versatile in their techniques—they had to be adept in the ‘art of killing.’<sup>12</sup> After observing Marine close combat fighting tactics at Camp Pendleton, California, and touring the Tank Destroyer Center at Fort Hood, Texas, LTG Lear incorporated training aspects from both and first hand battle reports to better Army ground combat fighters—its infantrymen. The architect for the Second Army Ranger School was Assistant G-3, Colonel (COL) John B. Sherman.<sup>13</sup>

By early fall 1942, the G-3 (Operations & Training) had produced a two-week course of instruction acceptable to LTG Lear, who was deeply involved as the ‘chief umpire’ in



the middle Tennessee maneuvers. In early December 1942, the Second Army and Central Defense Zone commander personally sent out 600 Ranger School quotas to his division commanders. Those men sent to Camp Forrest for Ranger training were to be the most intelligent and physically fit infantry and artillery lieutenants, corporals and sergeants from their divisions.<sup>14</sup>

The purpose of the school was “to train instructors in rough-and-tumble fighting tactics and in special techniques” to bring soldiers to an emotional and physical state that would assure successful performance on the battlefield. Once these men understood why they were fighting, the Ranger classes would teach them how to fight most effectively.

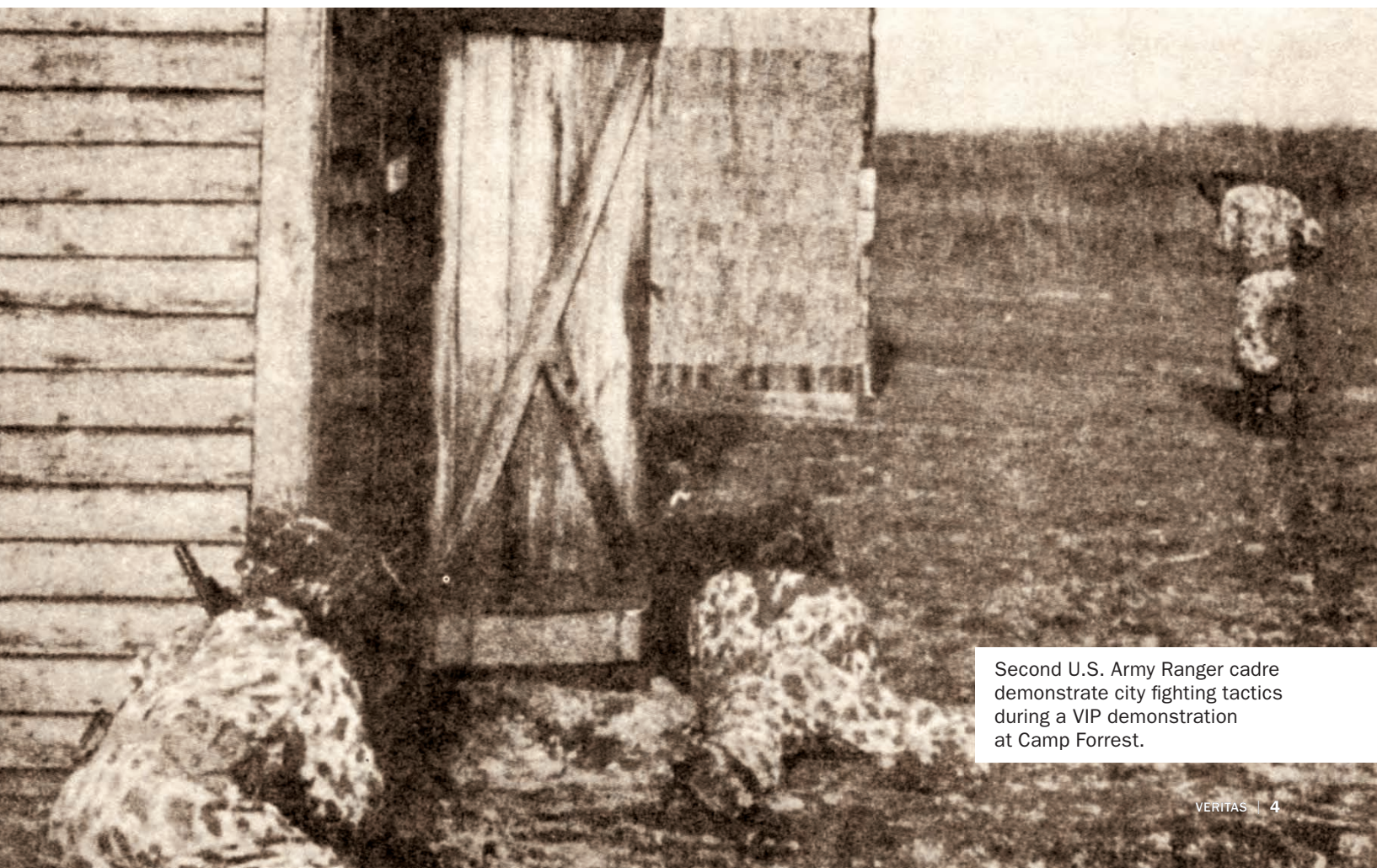


The Second Army Ranger tab, worn by cadre on their dress uniform, was positioned below the SSI. Since it was unofficial, this red & white Ranger tab was not awarded to those completing the two-week course of instruction.

The division personnel would return to their units to teach Ranger fundamentals to their comrades.<sup>15</sup>

Infantry Lieutenant Colonel (LTC) William C. Saffarans and his cadre, wearing Marine Corps camouflage utility (fatigue) uniforms to set them apart, drilled the hand-selected junior officers and non-commissioned officers (NCO) using Marine combat training methods.<sup>16</sup> The small unit ‘Ranger’ trainees practiced ‘hands on’ before being tested on physical conditioning, hand-to-hand combat skills, bayonet fighting, and combat marksmanship during ‘blitz training’ (immediate action live fire drills). Sniping and infiltration, camouflage, wire obstacles, mines and demolitions, and improvised tank killing were all part of individual training.<sup>17</sup> According to LTG Lear, Ranger instruction decidedly improved “alertness, smartness, aggressiveness, esprit,” and stimulated interest in field training.<sup>18</sup>

Days started and ended with speed marches. Squads of ‘Rangers’ did ambushes, patrols, stream crossings, and urban street fighting day and night. Though the swimming and small boat practice in Commando training was absent, it was realistic, demanding tactical training ‘on the cheap.’ The German ‘village’ consisted of building facades—basic mock-ups with open windows and doors and simple indoor stairs to second levels. To add realism the mines, booby traps, and explosive devices were makeshift, field expedients built with TNT and dynamite. The ‘Rangers’ who completed the course were to epitomize the creed of ‘Rangerism’—tougher and nastier than the enemy—and were made responsible for spreading that mindset in their units.<sup>19</sup>



Second U.S. Army Ranger cadre demonstrate city fighting tactics during a VIP demonstration at Camp Forrest.





30th Infantry 'Old Hickory' Division SSI. 'Old Hickory' was the nickname of Andrew Jackson, seventh President of the United States (1829-1837).

## Certificate of Proficiency

# Ranger

Cpl. Ralph E. Stacey

having successfully completed the following requirement  
is designated a **Second Army Ranger** . . . . .

PRIDE, SMARTNESS, SOLDIERLY ATTITUDE  
AND LEADERSHIP  
EXEMPLARY CONDUCT  
PHYSICAL CONDITIONING  
HAND TO HAND COMBAT  
BLITZ COURSE  
BOOBY TRAPS AND DEMOLITIONS

INDIVIDUAL CAMOUFLAGE  
CONSTRUCTION AND PASSAGE OF WIRE  
ENTANGLEMENTS  
SNIPERS AND INFILTRATION  
PATROLS AND AMBUSHING  
STALKING AND AMBUSHING TANKS  
IMPROVED BRIDGES AND USE OF  
TOGGLE ROPES

January 23, 1943

Date

Lt. Col. Inf. Commandant

Lt. General U. S. Army

The Second Army Ranger School certificate was signed by LTG Ben Lear, the Second Army commander, who took the course very seriously.

On 23 January 1943 the first class of Ranger instructors put on a spectacular 'art of killing' demonstration for the AGF commander, LTG McNair, LTG Lear, local government dignitaries, and newspapermen from Washington, DC (*Army Times*), Memphis (*Commercial Appeal*), and Chattanooga (*News-Free Press*). "The climactic spectacle was a raid upon a mock German town, featured by the use of live ammunition." Half of *The Army Hour* broadcast two days later was devoted to a sound-enhanced reenactment of the highlights.<sup>20</sup> The second Ranger School was held in February. Photos of that 23 January 1943 demo are shown on succeeding pages.

Training accidents and injuries were not uncommon at the Ranger School. Corporal (CPL) Ralph E. Stacey, 30<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division, was severely injured in an improvised mine accident. During a detection class CPL Stacey, probing with his bayonet, tripped an over-powered training device. He lost three fingers and half of a thumb. After spending several months convalescing in the hospital the twenty-seven year old 'Ranger' trainee was medically discharged on 27 April 1943, less than a year after enlisting in the Army.<sup>21</sup>

Stacey was in the second and last Second Army Ranger course. There were numerous reasons for its termination but three Army/War Department decisions were significant:



more Ranger Battalions were needed overseas to ‘spearhead’ invasions (Sicily, Italy, and France); creation of two TO&E (Table of Organization & Equipment) Ranger Battalions at Camp Forrest for the invasion of France; and General Lear was made the acting commander, AGF after LTG McNair was wounded in North Africa. Responsible for organization, training, combat readiness, and overseas shipment of all Army infantry divisions, the ‘triple hatted’ LTG Lear made the middle Tennessee maneuvers the top Second Army priority.<sup>22</sup> But, the spark of ‘Rangerism’ continued to glow in some infantry divisions preparing for combat.

Ranger training was still the ‘hottest thing’ in the Army despite LTG McNair’s reservations. It was an inexpensive way to build junior leaders—officers and NCOs. More astute division commanders saw value in continuing the training with their Second Army Ranger graduates, some of whom were Pacific combat veterans. The simplicity of individual field training made it readily exportable. And, most Army training camps contained homemade ‘German villages’ to practice street fighting.<sup>23</sup> The 66<sup>th</sup> ID, one of four divisions at Camp Blanding, Florida, ‘picked up the Ranger gauntlet.’

Major General (MG) H.T. Kramer, commanding general, directed that a 66<sup>th</sup> ID Ranger course be conducted. The ‘Black Panther’ Division was activated at Camp Blanding, Florida, on 15 April 1943 with a cadre of officers and sergeants from the 89<sup>th</sup> ID. MG Kramer needed highly motivated, tough junior leaders to move collective training through the echelons as the division prepared for AGF-administered combat ready evaluations before the middle Tennessee maneuvers. He had to phase the 262<sup>nd</sup>, 263<sup>rd</sup>, and 264<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiments, the 870<sup>th</sup>, 871<sup>st</sup>, and 872<sup>nd</sup> light artillery battalions (105mm), and the 721<sup>st</sup> medium artillery battalion (155mm) from individual basic training to unit collective training.<sup>24</sup> Physical conditioning was started at once.

After newly assigned recruits completed basic training in their battalions in May 1943, the 66<sup>th</sup> ID regiments intensified their physical fitness programs. They were getting the soldiers ready for unit training that progressed from section/platoon to battery/company to battalion level before the beginning of regimental maneuvers. Reveille formation at 0500 hours morphed into company and



Two 66th ID Rangers engage in hand-to-hand combat at Camp Blanding.

# Camp Blanding

## World War II

Camp Blanding, a 150,000-acre Florida National Guard training center outside Starke, was expanded into an Infantry Replacement Training Center after Pearl Harbor with facilities for two newly activated Army infantry divisions and several separate infantry and artillery regiments simultaneously. In September 1942, German prisoners of war (POW) were transferred to the Camp (eventually 1,200 were incarcerated on the post and 2,800 in fifteen other branch facilities). There were sufficient barracks and quarters to house 60,000 officers and men by 1944. By the end of the year nine infantry divisions and a separate airborne regiment had been activated at Camp Blanding. The divisions shipped out to another camp/post for collective training. The 66<sup>th</sup> ID moved to Camp Joseph T. Robinson in Arkansas in mid-August 1943. The ‘Black Panthers’ underwent AGF division operational tests as part of the XXI Corps, Fourth Army during the middle Tennessee maneuvers. They were opposed by a Third Army corps.<sup>26</sup>



MG H.T. Kramer settled on the panther head version for the 66th ID shoulder sleeve insignia (SSI).







## 2nd Army Ranger School Demonstration Camp Forrest, January 1943

1. Main Street in 'Naziville'.
2. Two Second Army Ranger School instructors demonstrate barbed wire cutting with cloth wrapped clippers.
3. SGT Edward M. Draper and PVT Russell B. Scarboro (Ranger students) conduct live fire 'mopping up' in 'Naziville'.
4. (L to R) SSG Bishop Scarboro, CPL Elmer Cochran (top), and SGT Howard M. Draper (Ranger students) demonstrate how to cover a window entry of a 'Naziville' building.
5. SGT Joe Perna (Ranger student) bayonets a dummy as part of the 'mopping up' of 'Naziville'. Note the caricature of Adolf Hitler in the window.



battery calisthenics across the division. Repetitions for the exercises increased daily until a standard of twelve sets was achieved.<sup>27</sup>

These 'warm-up' sessions preceded four-man telephone pole lifts and overhead carry races. Hand-to-hand combat fighting culminated morning physical training (PT). Soldiers climbed into large 'bear pits' for a series of combative drills. These evolved into 'King of the Mountain' rough and tumble fighting competitions that left one man standing. Then, company and battery 'kings' fought free-for-all style to determine a battalion champion.<sup>28</sup> At this point cannoneer Private (PVT) Paul E. Spears will explain the 66<sup>th</sup> ID 'Ranger' program.

"I was a tough, smart-ass jock who had just spent six months on the Lake Erie Railroad driving spikes into creosoted rail ties with a twelve-pound maul. Rail crews were a very rough lot," said PVT Spears, an M101 howitzer gunner in B Battery, 872<sup>nd</sup> Field Artillery. "Private Harry E. Ohota, a singing Ukrainian from Monessen 'Steeltown' (PA), and I were consistently the last guys standing. He was solid as an oak and stronger than a bull. Though I was quicker, try as I might, I could never overcome his brute strength. Harry was always the battery 'pit king,'"<sup>30</sup>

Bayonet training often ended with a spate of hand-to-hand combat. Since padded pugil sticks and boxing helmets were safety features in the future, sheathed bayonets on rifles raised unarmed combatives to a much more physical level. "A parried bayonet attack, followed by an instinctive vigorously delivered butt stroke to an opponent's steel helmet often led to free-for-alls," said Spears. "This was common because our natural aggressiveness was being honed to win in combat. Little did I know that my physical prowess would get me 'volunteered' for Ranger training."<sup>31</sup>

By July 1943, two hundred and twenty enlisted soldiers deemed by their battalions to possess leadership potential reported for two weeks of Ranger training. Three Pacific combat veterans, a first (1LT) and two second lieutenants (2LT), all Second Army Ranger graduates, conducted the 66<sup>th</sup> ID program.<sup>32</sup> "1LT Schaefer (W.A., III) told us that we had been specially selected to fight behind enemy lines. He promised to physically push us to our last ounce of strength and then demand more. We double-timed everywhere in our steel pots carrying our weapons with unsheathed bayonets," remembered Spears.<sup>33</sup>

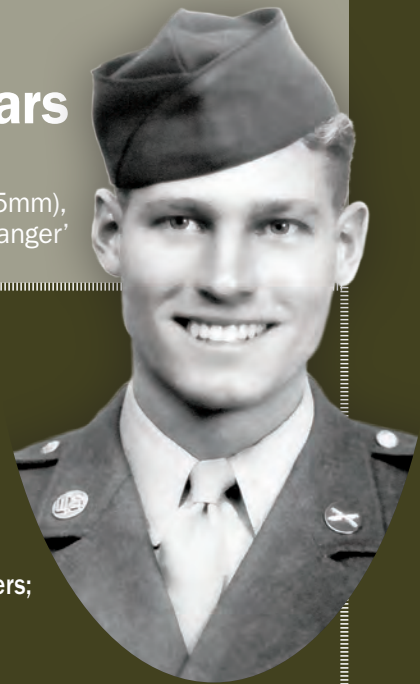
"We started our first night patrol crossing a triple roll of concertina wire. The scouts covered the flanks as the first two men flung themselves onto the barbed wired rolls and we scrambled over on their backs. The last two helped the 'bridge men' untangle themselves before running to catch up," recalled Spears. "It seemed that all patrols were through swamps. We lived by compasses and map reading. To insure that everyone (non-swimmers) got across deep streams we formed human chains. There were four things out there in the night—bugs, snakes, alligators, and Rangers," chuckled the artillery private. "Every day, guys dropped out. A German POW embarrassed us in

our initial bayonet drills, but we learned quick. We would disassemble and assemble the .45 pistol, the M-1 Garand and M-1903 Springfield rifles, the M-1 Carbine, and water-cooled .30 and .50 caliber machineguns until we could do them blindfolded."<sup>34</sup>

"By the last day, we were down to 120 stalwarts for whom quitting was not an option. LT Schaefer worked us unmercifully into the afternoon. Then, we formed up, went to 'Port Arms' with our bayonet-mounted weapons and double-timed to the obstacle course six miles away. There we were split into two ranks, faced one another, and fought until one was standing. Winners kept fighting until there was one 'champion.' I made it to the next to last round when I was pitted against a guy, six feet four inches tall, weighing 250 pounds. He was muscled like a lumberjack. I toppled him with a behind the knee kick and pounced on him. He flipped me off like a bug and proceeded to smother me. I was still trying to get my breath when the lieutenant blew his whistle to start the obstacle course. Yes, we double-timed back for supper," said the cannoneer private.<sup>35</sup> There was more to come.

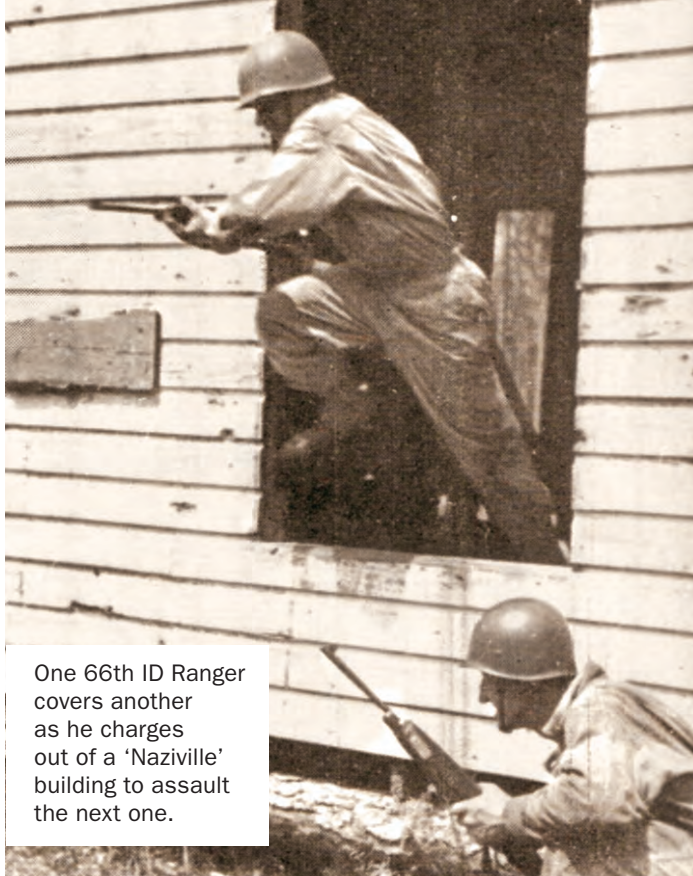
## PVT Paul E. Spears

B Battery,  
872<sup>nd</sup> Field Artillery (105mm),  
66<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division 'Ranger'



- DOB: 17 June 1924;
- POB: Pittsburgh, PA;
- Reynoldsville (PA) High School, June 1942: football (All Conference Defensive End 1941), basketball & baseball letters;
- Drafted January 1943, inducted Indianatown Gap Military Reservation, PA, and assigned 66<sup>th</sup> ID, Camp Blanding, FL;
- February June 1943, basic artillery training, B Battery, 872<sup>nd</sup> Field Artillery (FA) Battalion (105 mm);
- July August 1943, 66<sup>th</sup> ID 'Ranger' training;
- September 1943, OCS Candidate, Fort Benning, GA;
- October 1943 – September 1945, 541<sup>st</sup> FA Battalion (155mm), Fort Jackson, SC, and XII Army Group, Europe;
- November 1945, released from active duty as a Sergeant.





One 66th ID Ranger covers another as he charges out of a 'Naziville' building to assault the next one.



The 66th ID Ranger Certificate was made before MG H.T. Kramer settled on the panther's head version for the division SSI.

"After chow we were told to assemble at midnight in full combat gear and steel pots, carrying weapons with bayonets mounted, full field packs, and one canteen of water. We were force marching twenty-five miles and would be back by daybreak. No one could drink water unless given permission by cadre. We did it in 5 hours and 20 minutes and nobody quit. They would have died first. As we approached the Camp Blanding parade ground, you could hear a band playing. We soon discovered that the 66<sup>th</sup> Division was formed and standing at attention. Dead tired, soaked with sweat, our backs straightened as LT Schaefer marched us to the front of the reviewing stand. He stepped forward and saluting MG Kramer, presented the 66<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division 'Rangers' to him," recalled a beaming Spears.<sup>36</sup>

"General Kramer expressed his pride in us and our accomplishments. Then, he walked out gave each one of us a certificate, and shook our hands. I was standing 'ten feet tall' when the division marched by in review. Afterwards, LT Schaefer congratulated all of us for exceeding his standards. He said that he would proudly serve with any of us, anywhere. The truth be known, we would have followed that Guadalcanal veteran anywhere," reflected Spears, almost seventy years later.<sup>37</sup> But, instead of imbuing 'Rangerism' in the 672<sup>nd</sup> Field Artillery, newly-promoted CPL Paul Spears was sent off to Officer Candidate School (OCS) at Fort Benning, Georgia.<sup>38</sup>

The 66<sup>th</sup> was not the only infantry division to institute 'Ranger' training. The outstanding 83<sup>rd</sup> ID course at Camp Atterbury, Indiana, resulted in its director being chosen to command the 2<sup>nd</sup> Ranger Battalion at Camp Forrest. Major General (MG) Lloyd R. Fredendall, who succeeded LTG Lear in April 1943, had been very favorably impressed by the successes of the 1<sup>st</sup> Ranger Battalion in North Africa. When he left Camp Atterbury, the Second Army commander believed that the former Texas A&M football player and coach, Major (MAJ) James Earl Rudder, knew how to train soldiers for combat. The 83<sup>rd</sup> ID commander, MG Frank W. Milburn, a West Point footballer (Class of '14), agreed.<sup>39</sup>

Other Ranger programs were quite noteworthy. The Army Ranger Combat Training School at Fort William R. Shafter, Territory of Hawaii, directed by LTC Francois d'Eliscu, inculcated the 'spirit of Rangerism' in junior officer and NCO infantry leaders of the Army divisions slated for the Pacific. Technician Fifth Grade (T/5) Roger L.

**Note:** LTC d'Eliscu later ran the Special Forces Department in the Psywar Center and School at Fort Bragg.



83rd Infantry 'Thunderbolt' Division SSI. The centerpiece was a compilation of the letters forming 'Ohio.'



Reid, Service Company, 34<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment, 24<sup>th</sup> ID, was rated as a 'Very Satisfactory' graduate of the eight-week Hawaiian course. MG Walter M. Robertson, 2<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Division, followed four months of winter warfare at Camp McCoy, Wisconsin, with a Ranger Battle Training Course from 12 April to 5 June 1943. Graduates like 1LT Larry C. Lomax, 9<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment, had black circular 'skull' patches made to wear above the right sleeve cuff of their dress uniforms. A 75<sup>th</sup> ID three-week Ranger program was conducted at Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri, by LT Robert Belior.<sup>40</sup> Against long odds LTG Ben Lear succeeded in preparing Second Army and AGF infantry division soldiers to fight and defeat battle-hardened enemy forces by instilling the 'spirit of Rangerism.' Despite their wartime successes, however, the scouts, raiders, and rangers faded away at the end of World War II.

The U.S. raiding program as envisioned by General Marshall was never realized. Division 'Commando/Ranger' units were also short-lived. The 29<sup>th</sup> Ranger Battalion (29<sup>th</sup> ID) that fought with the British Commandos in Norway and off Brittany, was deactivated on 18 October 1943.<sup>41</sup> After 1<sup>st</sup> Ranger Battalion 'led the way' in Tunisia, the value of amphibious 'spearheaders' was confirmed, leading to a three-battalion Ranger Force for the invasions of Sicily and Italy. However, forming, training, and sustaining three Ranger Battalions with in-theater assets severely drained talented personnel from divisions bearing the brunt of combat.

Decimation of the Ranger Force at Cisterna, Italy, exhausted the theater capacity to reconstitute more 'spearheader' battalions for the invasion of France. The War Department preferred to form new units in the United States rather than grant permanent status to existing provisional formations in the overseas theaters.<sup>42</sup> Hence, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> Ranger Battalions were TO&E units organized and trained in the United States. Replacing Ranger attrition was hard in America because volunteers for parachute duty in airborne divisions and flight duty received extra incentive pay.<sup>43</sup> LTG Walter Kreuger, Sixth Army commander in the Pacific, adopted the ETO practice and created a TDA 6<sup>th</sup> Ranger Battalion in September 1944 from a deactivated Field Artillery (Pack) Battalion (98<sup>th</sup>) in New Guinea.<sup>44</sup> 'Value added' was not factored into postwar demobilization.

All Ranger Battalions and 'Ranger' training programs implemented by the U.S. divisions and commands preparing for WWII combat were history within months of the declared Allied victories in Europe and Japan. The Canadian-American First Special Service Force 'Black Devils,' the long range penetration groups, GALAHAD (5307<sup>th</sup> Composite Unit [Provisional] Merrill's Marauders) and MARS (5332<sup>nd</sup> Brigade [Provisional]) in Burma, and the special operation elements of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) were gone by war's end. A dynamic Korean battlefield early in that war prompted resurrection of Ranger units.

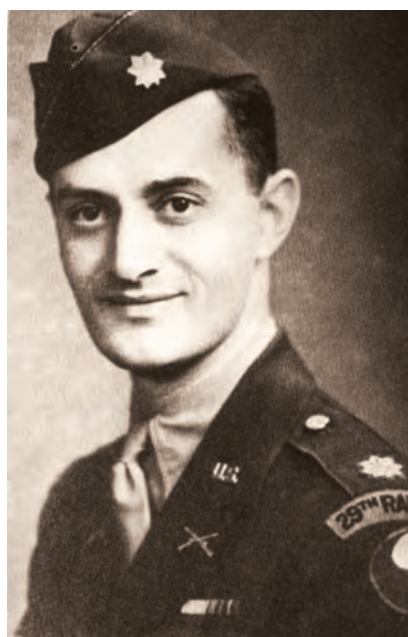
Though only six Ranger Infantry Companies (Airborne) saw combat in Korea for eight months, the Army leadership 'rediscovered' the value of that training for developing junior officer and NCO leaders. The Ranger Training Center



MG Lloyd R. Fredendall, Second Army commander, 1943-1945.



LTC James E. Rudder, 2nd Ranger Battalion, Pointe du Hoc, Normandy, France, 6 June 1944.



MAJ Randolph Milholland, 29th Ranger Battalion commander, 29th Infantry Division (ID) is wearing the 29th Rangers tab above the 29th ID SSI.







2nd Infantry  
Division SSI



2nd Infantry Division  
Ranger skull patch

2nd Infantry Division conducted a Ranger Battle Training Course at Camp McCoy, Wisconsin, from 12 April to 5 June 1943. Graduates wore black circular 'skull' patches above the right sleeve cuff of their dress uniforms.



## Ranger and Combat Training School

HAWAIIAN DEPARTMENT

19 June 1943

SUBJECT: Completion of Ranger and Combat Training School

TO : T/5 Roger L. Reid, 140067787, Ser Co, 34th Infantry

1. You have successfully completed an eight week course of intensive Ranger and Combat Training covering all phases of modern jungle fighting.

2. The course of study included Platoon Leadership, Combat Weapons (Rifle, M1; Rifle, '03; Pistol, .45; BAR; Thompson Sub-Machine Gun; Light and Heavy Machine Guns; Browning Machine Gun, cal. .50; 37mm Anti-tank Gun; 60mm and 81mm Mortars), Demolitions, Jungle Stream Amphibious Operations, Hand to Hand Techniques, Knives, Bayonet, Grenades, Wartime Wrestling, Wartime Boxing, Jungle Fighting Techniques, Physical Conditioning, and other allied subjects.

3. I want personally to commend you for your fine spirit, attitude and success while undergoing such strenuous training. It is my sincere belief that the instruction you received at this School will always be of value to you as a leader in any organization of which you may be a member.

My congratulations to you on becoming an instructor of Ranger and Combat Training.

*Francis B. Egan*  
Lieut. Colonel, Infantry,  
Commandant.

RATING: Very Satisfactory



24th Infantry Division SSI

Technician Fifth Grade (T/5) Roger L. Reid, Service Company, 34th Infantry Regiment, 24th ID, was a 'Very Satisfactory' graduate of the eight-week Hawaiian Department 'Ranger' course.





WWII 1st Ranger Battalion  
shoulder scroll



Scroll of the all-black 2nd Ranger  
Infantry (Airborne) Company,  
Korean War



Scroll of the Ranger Training  
Brigade at Fort Benning, GA



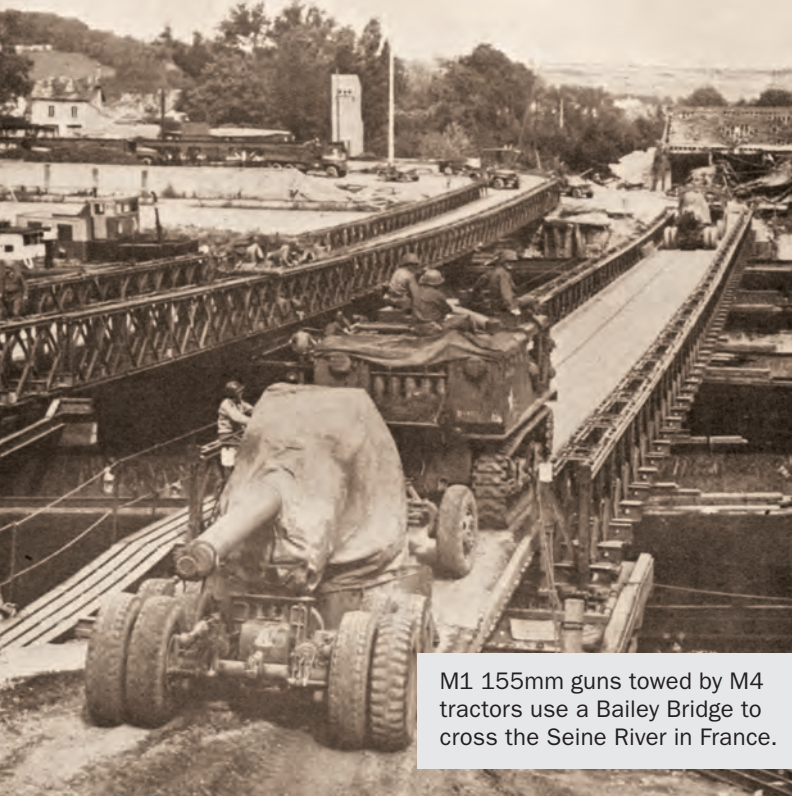
82nd Airborne Division  
Raider School  
pocket patch



101st Airborne  
Division Recondo  
School pocket patch

focus shifted from preparing Ranger companies for combat overseas to developing infantry junior leaders as the U.S. Army Ranger School. In 1958, the 101<sup>st</sup> Airborne Division (MG William C. Westmoreland) adopted a modified version of that curriculum for its Recondo School to develop junior NCOs. 'Recondo' was derived from combining reconnaissance (recce) and commando. The 82<sup>nd</sup> Airborne Division followed suit with its Raider School. General (GEN) Westmoreland later directed that Military Assistance Command, Vietnam (MACV) start a Recondo School at Nha Trang in 1966. Today, the Ranger Training Brigade (RTB) at Fort Benning, Georgia, performs that junior leadership mission with its Ranger School.<sup>45</sup>





M1 155mm guns towed by M4 tractors use a Bailey Bridge to cross the Seine River in France.



Six cannoneers 'manhandling' a 155mm 'Long Tom' stuck in French mud shows reality of 12-man crew in war.

## EPILOGUE

A serious family problem caused Candidate Paul Spears to withdraw from Infantry OCS. When he returned to Fort Benning from emergency leave, CPL Spears had been reassigned to the newly formed 541<sup>st</sup> Field Artillery Battalion (FAB) (155mm) at Fort Jackson, South Carolina. As a 'Long Tom' cannon crewman Spears had much to learn.<sup>46</sup> The five-hundred man battalion had twelve cannons, each crewed by an officer and eleven soldiers. The fifteen-ton, twenty-two foot long barrelled M1 and M2 'Long Toms' were towed by M4 High-Speed Tractors.<sup>47</sup> It took a well-trained crew thirty minutes to get their cannon operational. A good crew could fire forty rounds an hour, but the physical labor of unloading, carrying, and loading 95 lb. shells and 7-14 lb. powder propellant charges, made any extended rapid-fire impossible.<sup>48</sup>

While the 541<sup>st</sup> FAB (3<sup>rd</sup> Army), like the 66<sup>th</sup> ID (Fifteenth Army), was assigned to the XII Army Group in Europe, neither got into the fight in Germany. Their war ended in France. The separate 155mm FABs were rarely assigned lower than corps. Because of set up time and limited defensive measures (an M-2 Browning .50 cal machine gun and M-1 Carbines), 'Long Toms' normally fired from static positions several miles behind the front. But, their capacity to fire hundred pound shells 13.5 miles made them invaluable to armored advances.<sup>49</sup> By the end of the war, Spears was a Sergeant (SGT) section leader, the 'chief smoke.'<sup>50</sup>

The WWII veteran used his GI Bill to earn a bachelor of science degree in accounting at Indiana University (PA) while playing football. After several years in Detroit with Ford Motor Company, he returned to Pennsylvania to work for Hanover Shoe in 1953, subsequently rising to Senior Vice President and Treasurer. The former amateur harness horse racing champion died 11 August 2012. The 66<sup>th</sup> ID Ranger course was the most memorable event of his wartime service.<sup>51</sup> 📌

## Special Thanks

To CPT Marshall O. Baker (*The Amphibious Training Center*), MAJ Bell I. Wiley and CPT William P. Govan (*History of the Second Army*), AGF Historical Section; Ms. Nancy L. Kutulas, Librarian, Special Warfare Medical Group, for locating these post-WWII materials; Mr. Gregory Parsons, Curator, Camp Blanding Museum; retired CW3 Noel F. Mehlo, Jr. (*The Lost Ranger: A Soldier's Story*) for sharing his Camp Forrest Ranger research; MG Clarence K.K. Chinn, Commander, U.S. Army South; retired MG John C. Raaen, Jr., HHC Commander, 5<sup>th</sup> Ranger Battalion, WWII; retired LTG David E. Grange, Jr. and retired MG John K. Singlaub, the reviewers.



SSI for the XII Army Group (General Omar N. Bradley) which consisted of four armies with twelve corps controlling forty-six divisions.

### CHARLES H. BRISCOE, PhD

Charles H. Briscoe has been the USASOC Command Historian since 2000. A graduate of The Citadel, this retired Army special operations officer earned his PhD from the University of South Carolina. Current research interests include Army special operations in Latin America, POW Recovery, and the Lodge Act.



## Endnotes

- 1 Charles H. Briscoe, "Commando & Ranger Training: Part I: Preparing America's Soldiers for War," *Veritas*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 76-78. BG Frank A. Keating's career 'flat lined' after the storm induced 38<sup>th</sup> ID assault landing debacle in December 1943. In March 1943, BG Keating was assigned as the Senior Officer in Force Headquarters Section (Army) of the Amphibious Command, U.S. Atlantic Fleet, at Norfolk, VA. On 2 July 1945 he was promoted to Major General (MG) as Military Governor of Germany. MG Keating was Chief, U.S. Military Assistance & Advisory Group (MAAG), Republic of Korea when North Korea invaded on 25 June 1950. He was retired 31 August 1950. "Frank A. Keating, Major General, United States Army" at <http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/fakeating.htm> accessed 10/13/2015.
- 2 Briscoe, "Commando & Ranger Training: Part I: Preparing America's Soldiers for War," 76-78.
- 3 Briscoe, "Commando & Ranger Training: Part I: Preparing America's Soldiers for War," 76-78; The Army Ground Forces (AGF). CPT Marshall O. Becker, *AGF Study No. 22: The Amphibious Training Center* (Washington, DC: AGF, 1946). The U.S. Assault Training Center in England was no better resourced than the ATC in the States. Its first commander, LTC William B. Kunzig, former director of the Commando Task Force training at Camp Edwards, MA, resorted to the same field expedient training aids—from engineer-taped outlines of assault boats to rope net towers to practice troop ship disembarking into landing craft.
- 4 COL R. Allen Griffin, oral history interview by James R. Fuchs, 15 February 1974, Pebble Beach, CA, 8-9, Harry S. Truman Library & Museum at , <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/oralhist/griffin.htm> (accessed 10/15/2015); R. Manning Ancell and Christine M. Miller, *The Biographical Dictionary of World War II Generals and Flag Officers* (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Press, 1996 ), 184.
- 5 Army Ground Forces. MAJ Bell I. Wiley and CPT William P. Govan, *History of the Second Army: Study No. 16* (Washington, DC: Army Ground Forces Historical Section, 1946); AGF. CPT Marshall O. Baker, *The Amphibious Training Center: Study No. 22* (Washington, DC: Army Ground Forces Historical Section, 1946).
- 6 Kenneth Finlayson, "Rebirth of the Rangers: The Ranger Infantry Companies in Korea," *Veritas*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 5.
- 7 Briscoe, "Commando & Ranger Training," 73.
- 8 Second U.S. Army. Second Army Ranger School, Camp Forrest, TN. Certificate of Proficiency designating Corporal Ralph L. Stacey, 30<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division, a Second Army Ranger dated 23 January 1943, courtesy Camp Blanding Military Museum, Starke, FL; David W. Hogan, Jr., *Raiders or Elite Infantry: The Changing Role of the U.S. Army Rangers from Dieppe to Grenada* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1992), 23.
- 9 Department of the Army. United States Army in World War II. The Army Ground Forces. Robert R. Palmer, Bell I. Wiley, and William R. Keast, *Procurement and Training of Ground Combat Troops* (Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Military History, 1948), 19.
- 10 Tennessee, Department of Environment and Conservation, Division of Archaeology, Report of Investigations No. 13 (2007): Benjamin C. Nance, "An Archeological Survey of World War II Military Sites in Tennessee," 17.
- 11 Letter. William J. Donovan to Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, 1941, National Archives (NARA), RG 226. E92. B1. F37.
- 12 Wiley and Govan, *History of the Second Army*, 140.
- 13 Wiley and Govan, *History of the Second Army*, 140; Hogan, *Raiders or Elite Infantry*, 21.
- 14 LTG Ben Lear letter, 14 December 1942, Subject: Second Army Ranger School, AG 352-1 cited in Wiley and Govan, *History of the Second Army*, 140.
- 15 LTG Ben Lear letter, 14 December 1942, Subject: Second Army Ranger School, AG 352-1 cited in Wiley and Govan, *History of the Second Army*, 140, 142.
- 16 LTC William C. Saffarans, a distinguished athlete, rifleman (Georgetown University 1923 National Intercollegiate Champion of Rifle Clubs, NRA) , and rifle team coach, was selected by LTG Lear to be the Commandant, Second U.S. Army Ranger School. Wiley and Govan, *History of the Second Army*, 140; "Amusement in the Archives: A Sampling of Student Diversions and Extracurricular Activities at Georgetown" at <http://www.library.georgetown.edu/exhibition/amusement-archives-sampling> (accessed 10/30/2015).
- 17 Second U.S. Army, Second Army Ranger School, Camp Forrest, TN. Certificate of Proficiency designating Corporal Ralph L. Stacey, 30<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division, a Second Army Ranger dated 23 January 1943, courtesy Camp Blanding Military Museum, Starke, FL; Hogan, *Raiders or Elite Infantry*, 23.
- 18 Wiley and Govan, *History of the Second Army*, 142.
- 19 Hogan, *Raiders or Elite Infantry*, 21.
- 20 Wiley and Govan, *History of the Second Army*, 142.
- 21 Second U.S. Army Ranger certificate awarded to CPL Ralph E. Stacey, 23 January 1943, courtesy of Curator, Camp Blanding Museum and Memorial Park, Starke, FL; Ralph E. Stacey, Jr. and Laura Thurfield (son and granddaughter of CPL Stacey), interviews by Dr. Charles H. Briscoe, 27 and 30 January 2014 respectively, USASOC History Office Classified Files, Fort Bragg, NC.
- 22 Wiley and Govan, *History of the Second Army*, 142.
- 23 Second Army insisted that division Ranger Schools be part-time in accordance with LTG McNair's directive. They were not to interfere with regular division training. Wiley and Govan, *History of the Second Army*, 142; 134<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment "All Hell Can't Stop Us": Combat History of World War II, Chapter 2-9 at [http://www.coulthart.com/134/chapter\\_2.htm](http://www.coulthart.com/134/chapter_2.htm) accessed 9/28/2015; "The Story of the Century," 19, 20 at [http://www.lonesentry.com/gi\\_stories\\_booklets/100thininfantry](http://www.lonesentry.com/gi_stories_booklets/100thininfantry) (accessed 11/9/2015).
- 24 "Infantry Divisions, 66<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division, Wartime Press," at <http://www.wartimepress.com/archives.asp?TID=037%2066th%20Infantry%20Division> (accessed 11/18/2013); "66<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division" at <http://www.history.army.mil/documents/ETO-OB/66ID-ETO.htm> (accessed 11/18/2013); 40,000 Black Panthers of the 66<sup>th</sup> Division (Marseille, FR, 1945), v; "66<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division, World War II Divisional Combat Chronicles" at <http://www.history.army.mil/html/forcestruc/cbtchron/066id.htm> accessed 11/18/2013; The numbers of soldiers lost in the sinking of the S.S. *Leopoldville* on 24 December 1944 vary from 792 to 804. "My Wartime Service in Europe: A Biographical Letter" [T/5 (Technician Fifth Class) Richard C. Jewell, 66<sup>th</sup> Reconnaissance Troop (Mechanized), 66<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division] at <http://www.edjewell.net/letter.htm> (accessed 12/6/2013); "Panthermen Claw Stubborn Enemy," from ETO WWII G.I. Stories Booklet (1945) at [http://www.lonesentry.com/gi\\_stories\\_booklets/66thininfantry](http://www.lonesentry.com/gi_stories_booklets/66thininfantry) (accessed 12/6/2013).
- 25 The 1<sup>st</sup> Infantry Division (ID) 'Big Red One,' 29<sup>th</sup> ID 'Blue and Grey,' 30<sup>th</sup> ID 'Old Hickory,' 31<sup>st</sup> ID 'Dixie,' 36<sup>th</sup> ID 'Texas,' 43<sup>rd</sup> ID 'Winged Victory,' 66<sup>th</sup> ID 'Panther,' and the 79<sup>th</sup> ID 'Cross of Lorraine' formed and trained at Camp Blanding from 1943 into 1945. Camp Blanding became Florida's fourth largest city during World War II. "Camp Blanding Museum & Memorial Park, Starke, Florida" at <http://www.museumsusa.org/museums/info/123> (accessed 1/2/2014); "Florida During World War II" at [http://fcit.usf.edu/florida/lessons/ww\\_ii/ww\\_ii1.htm](http://fcit.usf.edu/florida/lessons/ww_ii/ww_ii1.htm) (accessed 1/2/2014); Shelby L. Stanton, *World War II Order of Battle* (NY: Galahad Books, 1984), 598.
- 26 "Infantry Divisions, 66<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division, Wartime Press," at <http://www.wartimepress.com/archives.asp?TID=037%2066th%20Infantry%20Division> accessed 11/18/2013; "66<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division" at <http://www.history.army.mil/documents/ETO-OB/66ID-ETO.htm> accessed 11/18/2013; 40,000 Black Panthers of the 66<sup>th</sup> Division (Marseille, FR, 1945), v; "66<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division, World War II Divisional Combat Chronicles" at <http://www.history.army.mil/html/forcestruc/cbtchron/066id.htm> accessed 11/18/2013; Panthermen Claw Stubborn Enemy," from ETO WWII G.I. Stories Booklet (1945) at [http://www.lonesentry.com/gi\\_stories\\_booklets/66thininfantry](http://www.lonesentry.com/gi_stories_booklets/66thininfantry) (accessed 12/6/2013).
- 27 Paul E. Spears, interview by Dr. Charles H. Briscoe, 20 June 2012, USASOC History Office Classified Files, Fort Bragg, NC, hereafter cited as Spears interview with date; Spears, undated "Certificate of Proficiency for PVT Paul E. Spears, Sixty-Sixth Infantry Division Ranger," hereafter cited as Spears "Certificate."
- 28 Spears interview, 20 June 2012; Spears "Certificate."
- 29 Spears interview, 20 June 2012; Spears "Certificate." The Sergeant E-5 rank insignia during WWII consisted on three chevrons above one rocker, today's insignia for a Staff Sergeant, E-6.
- 30 Spears interview, 20 June 2012; Spears "Certificate"; 40,000 Black Panthers of the 66<sup>th</sup> Division, 199, 204.
- 31 Spears interview, 20 June 2012; Spears "Certificate"; 40,000 Black Panthers of the 66<sup>th</sup> Division, 199, 204.
- 32 "Infantry Divisions, 66<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division, Wartime Press," at <http://www.wartimepress.com/archives.asp?TID=037%2066th%20Infantry%20Division> (accessed 11/18/2013); "66<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division" at <http://www.history.army.mil/documents/ETO-OB/66ID-ETO.htm> (accessed 11/18/2013); 40,000 Black Panthers of the 66<sup>th</sup> Division (Marseille, FR, 1945), v; "66<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division, World War II Divisional Combat Chronicles" at <http://www.history.army.mil/html/forcestruc/cbtchron/066id.htm> (accessed 11/18/2013); "Panthermen Claw Stubborn Enemy," from ETO WWII G.I. Stories Booklet (1945) at [http://www.lonesentry.com/gi\\_stories\\_booklets/66thininfantry](http://www.lonesentry.com/gi_stories_booklets/66thininfantry) (accessed 12/6/2013).
- 33 Spears interview, 20 June 2012; Spears "Certificate."
- 34 Spears interview, 20 June 2012; Spears "Certificate."
- 35 Spears interview, 20 June 2012; Spears "Certificate."
- 36 Spears interview, 20 June 2012; Spears "Certificate."
- 37 Spears interview, 20 June 2012; Spears "Certificate."
- 38 Spears interview, 20 June 2012; Spears "Certificate."
- 39 Thomas M. Hatfield, *Rudder: From Leader to Legend* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2011), 73. MAJ James E. Rudder replaced LTC William C. Saffarans, the former commandant of the Second Army Ranger Course at Camp Forrest. The tyrannical Saffarans was relieved as commander of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Ranger Battalion for heavy drinking and for writing bad checks. He was summarily reassigned to the Hawaiian Department. Robert W. Black glossed over this when he described Saffarans as a "good officer, but the needs of the service quickly sent him off to run a jungle school in Hawaii." Robert W. Black, *The Battalion: The Dramatic Story of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Ranger Battalion in World War II* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2006), 6. Rudder's Rangers scaled the cliffs of Pointe du Hoc, France, on D-Day, 6 June 1944, to capture its 155mm coastal artillery battery, 'spearheading' the Allied invasion of Europe.
- 40 Office of the Chief Signal Officer, "Ranger Combat Training School, Fort Shafter, Territory of Hawaiian," 1942, Series "Moving Images Relating to Military Activities, 1947-1964" Record Group 111: "Records of the Office of the Chief Signal Officer, 1860-1985, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD; Hawaiian Department Ranger Combat Training Course certificate (TS Roger L. Reid, Service Company, 34<sup>th</sup> Infantry, 19 June 1943) and 2<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Division Ranger Battle Training Course certificate, 12 April-5 June 1943, Camp McCoy, Wisconsin, USASOC History Office Classified Files, Fort Bragg, NC; "2<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Rangers" *The Indianhead* (11 January 2008) at <http://theindianhead.blogspot.com/2008/01/2nd-infantry-rangers.html> (accessed 11/6/2015); George H. Hall, "War Tactics Demonstrated at Activation of Missouri's First Infantry Division," *Post Dispatch* (Fort Leonard Wood, MO), 16 April 1943 at <http://hldnoqtr.tripod.com/newspaperart.html> (accessed 9/12/2012). A 1 November 1942 AGF training directive, based almost exclusively on lessons learned in battle, was issued. It provided for approximately two months training after maneuvers in mine removal, scouting, patrolling, night fighting, infiltration, physical hardening, small-unit leadership, and progressive field exercises from the squad to the division. Palmer, Wiley, and Keast, *Procurement and Training of Ground Combat Troops*, 448.
- 41 Chapter 3: Special Operations in the European Theater, 38-39 at <http://www.history.army.mil/books/wwii/70-42/70-423.htm> (accessed 11/6/2015).
- 42 Chapter 3: Special Operations in the European Theater, note 4 at <http://www.history.army.mil/books/wwii/70-42/70-423.htm> (accessed 11/6/2015).



- 43 "The Story of the Century," 22 at [http://www.lonesentry.com/gi\\_stories\\_booklets/100thininfantry](http://www.lonesentry.com/gi_stories_booklets/100thininfantry) (accessed 11/9/2015).
- 44 Andrew L. Hargreaves, *Special Operations in World War II: British and American Irregular Warfare* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013), 48.
- 45 Retired COL William T. Palmer, interview by Dr. Charles H. Briscoe, 24 March 2014 and Palmer, official DA Form 66, USASOC History Office Classified Files, Fort Bragg, NC, hereafter cited by name and date and Palmer, DA Form 66. 1LT Palmer, B Company, 1<sup>st</sup> Airborne Battle Group, 327<sup>th</sup> Infantry, was special duty (SD) as the Operations Officer of the 101<sup>st</sup> Airborne Division Recondo School in 1959. The 101<sup>st</sup> Recondo School had been established by WWII veteran and Korean War Medal of Honor recipient, MAJ Lewis L. Millett in 1958. "Military History: Interview with Colonel Lewis L. Millett" at <http://www.historynet.com/military-history-interview-with-lewis-l-millett.htm> (accessed 9/10/2014); 'Recondo' was derived from combining reconnaissance (recce) and commando. CPT Lewis L. Millett was on the cadre of the Ranger Training Command with MAJ Singlaub before going to Korea. Retired MG John K. Singlaub (MG Westmoreland's G-3, 101st Abn Div), interview by Briscoe, 30 December 2015, USASOC History Office Classified Files, Fort Bragg, NC.
- 46 Spears interview, 20 June 2012; Spears "Certificate."
- 47 Shelby L. Stanton, *World War II Order of Battle* (NY: Galahad Books, 1984), 30-31.
- 48 Former Technician Fourth Grade (T/4) Richard D. Sylver, Service Battery, 721<sup>st</sup> FA Battalion (155), 66<sup>th</sup> ID, interview by Dr. Charles H. Briscoe, 11 December 2013, USASOC History Office Classified Files, Fort Bragg, NC. T/4 Richard Sylver was sent from Camp Blanding, FL, to Fort Sill, OK, the Army Artillery School, to be trained as a mechanic on the M4 High-Speed Tractor being produced by Allis Chalmers. The recovery vehicle for the M4 was the ten-ton M108 wrecker built by the Reo Motor Car Company, Lansing, MI.
- 49 Charles B. MacDonald, *The Last Offensive*, United States Army in World War II: The European Theater of Operations (Washington, DC: U.S. Army Office of the Chief of Military History, 1973), 323, 477; Shelby L. Stanton, *World War II Order of Battle* (NY: Galahad Books, 1984), 413, 418, 421; "155 mm Long Tom" at [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/155\\_mm\\_Long\\_Tom](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/155_mm_Long_Tom) (accessed 1/2/2014); [http://olive-drab.com/idphoto/id\\_photos\\_m2longtom.php](http://olive-drab.com/idphoto/id_photos_m2longtom.php) (accessed 1/2/2014); "M4 Tractor" at [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/M4\\_Tractor](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/M4_Tractor) (accessed 1/2/2014).
- 50 Spears interview, 20 June 2012; Spears "Certificate."
- 51 Spears interview, 20 June 2012; "Paul E. Spears: Obituary" at <http://www.legacy.com/obituaries/eveningsun/obituary.aspx?pid=159153459> (accessed 12/27/2013).



PFC F. F. Santucci demonstrating how to use the bayonet on blitz assault course constructed for Ranger training at Camp Forrest, TN, 12 January 1943.





The 2nd Loudspeaker & Leaflet Company

# VOICE

of the U.S. and Aggressors

by Jared M. Tracy



**"Dropping leaflets instead of parachutes and using loudspeakers instead of rifles, psychological warfare [psywar] units are 'fighting' side by side with airborne troopers of the [82<sup>nd</sup> Airborne] Division."**

—New York Times, 15 November 1953 <sup>1</sup>

Supporting that maneuver, Exercise FALCON, at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, was the 2<sup>nd</sup> Loudspeaker and Leaflet (L&L) Company, a tactical psywar unit. For most of its brief existence (November 1950-February 1955), the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L functioned as the stateside psywar training element for Army Field Forces. It thus 'filled the gap' left by the 1<sup>st</sup> L&L Company (formerly called the Tactical Information Detachment) when it deployed to Korea in late 1950. This article introduces the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L in the context of renewed U.S. Army efforts to rebuild its psywar capability during the Korean War.

Leading the U.S. Army psywar resurgence was Brigadier General (BG) Robert A. McClure, who orchestrated the strategic psywar campaign in Europe during WWII. Heading the Psywar Division, Army G-3 starting in September 1950 and the Office of the Chief of Psywar (OCPW) after January 1951, McClure prioritized activating, manning, training, and deploying psywar units to the Far East and Europe. By spring 1951, the Army's active duty tactical psywar inventory consisted of the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, and 5<sup>th</sup> L&L Companies. The mission of these permanent, table of organization and equipment (T/O&E) units was "to conduct the tactical propaganda operations of a field army and to provide quality [psywar] specialists as advisors to the army and subordinate staffs."<sup>2</sup>

In addition to tactical units, by spring 1951 the Army had activated the strategic 1<sup>st</sup> Radio Broadcasting and Leaflet (RB&L) Group and had federalized the U.S. Army Reserve 301<sup>st</sup> RB&L Group. These temporary, mission-driven Table of Distribution and Allowances (T/D&A) units were charged with "conduct[ing] strategic propaganda operations in direct support of military operations; support[ing] and augment[ing] the worldwide propaganda effort of the United States," and "provid[ing] operational support to tactical propaganda units in a military theater of operations."<sup>3</sup>

By late 1951, most of these psywar units had deployed in support of field armies and theater commands in the Far East and Europe. For Korea, the 1<sup>st</sup> L&L provided loudspeaker and leaflet support to Eighth Army while the 1<sup>st</sup> RB&L advanced U.S. and United Nations objectives with leaflets and strategic radio broadcasts. In Europe, the 5<sup>th</sup> L&L and 301<sup>st</sup> RB&L supported Seventh U.S. Army, U.S. Army, Europe (USAREUR), and the European Command (EUCOM). However, the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L would remain stateside to train psywarriors while simultaneously orienting other units to its capabilities.

On 8 November 1950, the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L was activated at Fort Riley, Kansas, and assigned to the Army General School (AGS). When the company submitted its first Morning Report on 6 December, it had only ten enlisted soldiers and two officers: First Lieutenant (1LT) Howard C. Walters, Jr. in command, and Second Lieutenant (2LT) William C.



Former Director of the Psychological Warfare Division, Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force (PWD/SHAEF) during WWII, BG Robert A. McClure, reported to the Pentagon in 1950 to rebuild the Army's psywar capability. Months later, he became Chief of Psywar on the Army staff.



1LT Tom S. Stein of the 2nd L&L Publication Platoon boards a C-45 Expeditor for a leaflet drop mission during Exercise LONG HORN at Fort Hood in 1952.



Dartmouth College International Relations graduate CPL Joel A. Leavitt was spared from a Korea combat deployment thanks to unexpected orders to the 2nd L&L in mid-1951.



2nd Loudspeaker and Leaflet Company Unofficial Logo.



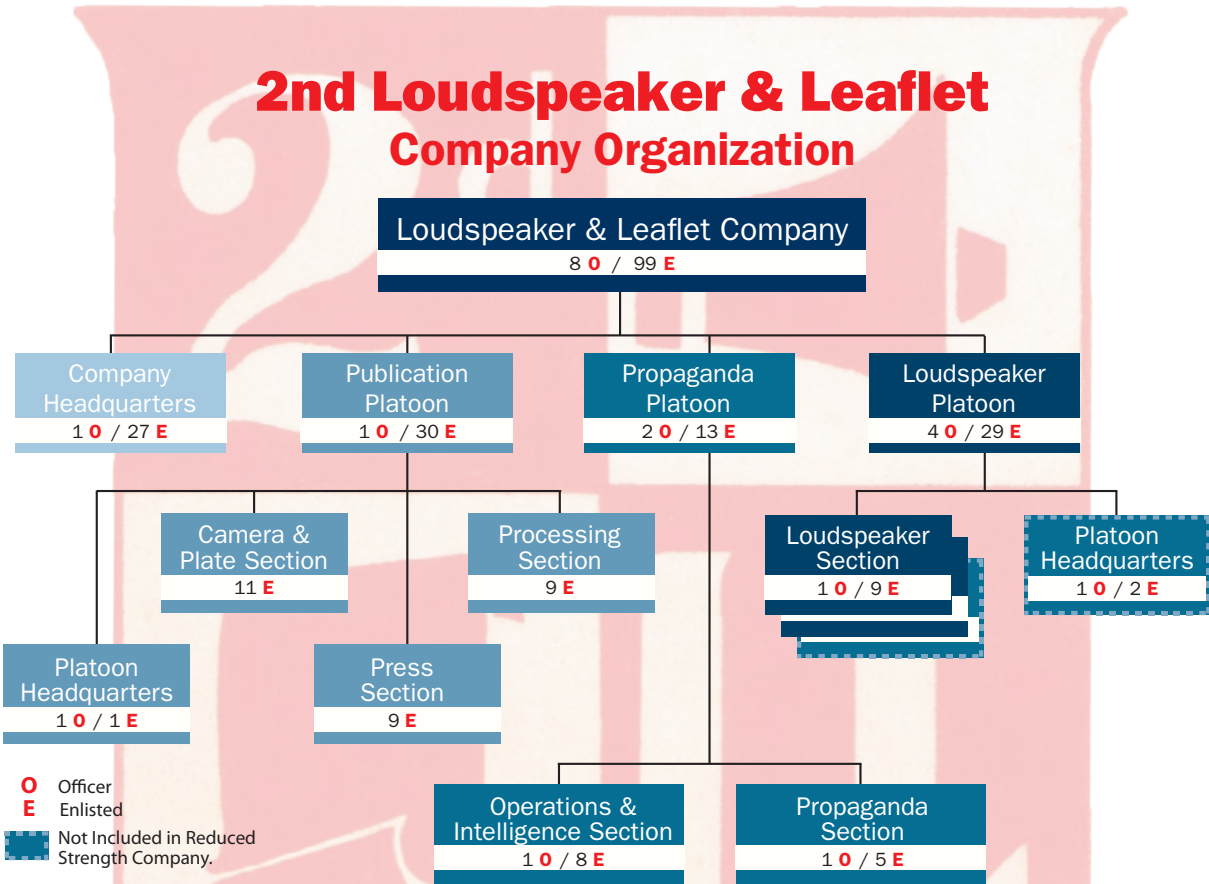
Shepard as the Executive Officer (XO).<sup>4</sup> Arriving in late 1950, Corporal (CPL) Robert F. Denault recalled that soldiers “came in one at a time. We were working on getting things together to make a unit.”<sup>5</sup> By mid-January 1951, the 2<sup>nd</sup> had grown to about forty soldiers, and by mid-June, around sixty.<sup>6</sup>

Authorized eight officers and ninety-nine enlisted men, the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L had an initial personnel shortage, forcing it to temporarily organize as a reduced-strength company. (According to T/O&E 20-77, a reduced-strength company consisted of five officers and sixty-seven men.) However, by September 1951 the 2<sup>nd</sup> had enough soldiers to fulfill its T/O&E. It was comprised of a 28-man headquarters element to manage administration, mess, supply, training, and transportation; a 15-man Propaganda Platoon with a Propaganda Section and an Operations and Intelligence Section; a 31-man Publication Platoon with Camera, Plate, Press, and Processing Sections; and a 33-man Loudspeaker Platoon containing three Loudspeaker Sections.<sup>7</sup> Manning these elements were soldiers with language skills, advanced education, and relevant civilian backgrounds (like printing, journalism, and advertising) who had been identified by The Adjutant General-established Classification and Analysis Center at Fort Myer, Virginia, based on criteria provided by the OCPW.

One new soldier in the unit in mid-1951 was CPL Joel A. Leavitt, an International Relations graduate from Dartmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire, who had been drafted in March 1951. After infantry training at

Fort Devens, Massachusetts, he was assigned to the 278<sup>th</sup> Regimental Combat Team (RCT) with individual orders for Korea. However, new orders to the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L diverted him. At Fort Riley, the relative informality of the psywar world (contrasted with the strict discipline of the infantry) surprised Leavitt. Because “most of the guys were college graduates, the officers treated us equally.” As part of the Operations Section, Propaganda Platoon, he helped develop training schedules and made preparations for maneuvers.<sup>8</sup>

Another arrival was Private First Class (PFC) Raymond P. Laubsted. Originally from Illinois, Laubsted had two years of post-high school engineering education before being drafted in March 1951 and attending basic training at Fort Eustis, Virginia. After graduation and a short time spent loading Liberty ships and changing locomotive wheels, Laubsted received orders to the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L where he served as a Multigraph (Printing Press) Operator (0128). “It was just ‘L&L’ on the orders. I didn’t even know what ‘L&L’ stood for.”<sup>9</sup> With orders to transfer from Fort Sheridan, Illinois, to the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L by 17 August 1951, Private (PVT) Frank R. Haus, a Photo-lithographer (0107) by Military Occupational Specialty (MOS), was delayed from reporting by severe flooding across Kansas. This flooding was caused by months of record-setting, cumulative rainfall in the Midwest. “We could not proceed further than Kansas City, Missouri, [due] to the flooding . . . We were authorized temporary quarters at the YMCA [Young Men’s Christian Association in Kansas City] until roads were again open to traffic.”<sup>10</sup>







CPT Howard R. Clisham commanded the 2nd L&L from June 1951 to May 1952 and led the company through three major stateside maneuvers.



Combat Infantryman Spencer J. Huggins became First Sergeant of the 2nd L&L in July 1951.

As new soldiers arrived, the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L sent personnel to the few psywar courses offered at the AGS. It also trained with the 1<sup>st</sup> RB&L, which was driven by deployment to Far East Command (FEC) in August 1951. At Fort Riley, it was common for AGS-assigned psywar units to train together and share or 'swap' personnel with each other based on desired skills and MOSs. Accordingly, the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L experienced a sizeable personnel shift due to the upcoming deployment of a sister company, the 5<sup>th</sup> L&L.

In June 1951, 5<sup>th</sup> L&L commander Captain (CPT) Robert K. Wensley received unit deployment orders to Germany, but he was short of European linguists. PFC Laubsted recalled that a lot of 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L soldiers "spoke multiple languages, mostly European, so we figured that they were grooming us to go to Europe."<sup>11</sup> Instead, 34 soldiers (including European linguists) were transferred to the 5<sup>th</sup> L&L, which in turn switched 32 soldiers to the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L. Leadership within the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L shuffled as well. CPT Howard R. Clisham replaced 1LT Walters as the company commander, and 1LT Jack L. Thiess, 1LT Tom S. Stein, and 2LT Ivan Gilliam reported to the Propaganda Platoon, Publication Platoon, and Loudspeaker Platoon, respectively. In July, SFC Spencer J. Huggins became First Sergeant.<sup>12</sup>

Amidst training, the flood, and personnel shifts, the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L received orders to take part in Exercise SOUTHERN

PINE at Camp Mackall and Fort Bragg, North Carolina, in August 1951. Replicating a real-world conventional combat scenario, SOUTHERN PINE aimed "to provide training for Army and Air Force units in large-scale offensive and defensive operations with emphasis on night operations, [close] tactical air support; airborne operations; rail, motor, and air movements; and logistical support, to include aerial supply." It would also validate joint standard operating procedures (SOPs) in order to better prepare U.S. forces to defend Western Europe against a Soviet attack. Lieutenant General (LTG) John R. Hodge, Commanding General, Third Army, and Major General (MG) W.R. Wolfenbarger, Commanding General, Ninth Air Force, served as maneuver director and deputy maneuver director, respectively.<sup>13</sup>

According to the hypothetical scenario for SOUTHERN PINE, 'Soviet' forces (played by U.S. Aggressor forces), after taking over the Caribbean, invading the American Southeast, and consolidating in South Carolina, were advancing toward Camp Mackall, Hoffman, Hamlet, Laurinburg, and Maxton, North Carolina. They wanted to seize Fort Bragg *en route* to Raleigh-Durham. Aggressor ground forces drew primarily from the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalions, 325<sup>th</sup> Airborne Infantry Regiment (AIR) from Fort Bragg, and the 511th AIR, 11th Airborne Division, from Fort Campbell, Kentucky.<sup>14</sup> U.S. forces, including the 82<sup>nd</sup> Airborne Division (-) and the 28<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division (ID) (based at Camp Atterbury, Indiana) and 43<sup>rd</sup> ID (based at Camp Pickett, Virginia), both federalized on 5 September 1950 and soon to deploy to Germany, were to defend Fort Bragg and surrounding areas from seizure by Aggressor forces.<sup>15</sup> If they failed, "the enemy would have easy sailing in its drive toward the Raleigh-Durham industrial area," read one news report.<sup>16</sup>

For SOUTHERN PINE, a 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L contingent was tasked to provide leaflet and loudspeaker support to the Aggressor forces. On 2 July 1951, CPT Clisham led the eastbound convoy of forty 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L soldiers and officers. 1LT Edward F. Kaye remained at Riley to serve as acting company commander. 1LTs Jack L. Thiess and Tom S. Stein soon left Kansas to 'reinforce' the detachment.<sup>17</sup> Bivouacked in tents on Fort Bragg, the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L had over a month to become familiar with the area of operations before the exercise began on 13 August.

At the onset of SOUTHERN PINE, the 82<sup>nd</sup> Airborne Division was to establish contact with Aggressor and cover the concentration of 28<sup>th</sup> and 43<sup>rd</sup> IDs north and east of Fort Bragg. On 13-14 August, the 82<sup>nd</sup> attacked and pushed back Aggressor forces several miles to the Gaddy's Mountain and Blues Road-Maul Route Road area, and finally to a new front along Raeford-Vass Road. On 16 August, the other two divisions relieved the 82<sup>nd</sup>, with the 43<sup>rd</sup> occupying the northern zone of action and the 28<sup>th</sup> occupying the southern zone. Until 25 August, "sporadic fighting continued in the Raeford-Vass Road area with neither side able to gain a clear advantage." To break the deadlock, U.S. forces launched coordinated attacks against Aggressor units with the 28<sup>th</sup> and 43<sup>rd</sup> IDs making frontal assaults as two battalions



of the 504<sup>th</sup> RCT dropped on the eastern side of Gaither Swamp and one battalion jumped on the western side. The 505<sup>th</sup> RCT soon jumped in to reinforce them. SOUTHERN PINE ended on 27 August when 82<sup>nd</sup> elements linked up with the 28th and 43rd IDs.<sup>18</sup>

During Exercise SOUTHERN PINE, the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L designed and printed some 485,800 leaflets that Aggressor forces employed against U.S. units. Loudspeaker appeals

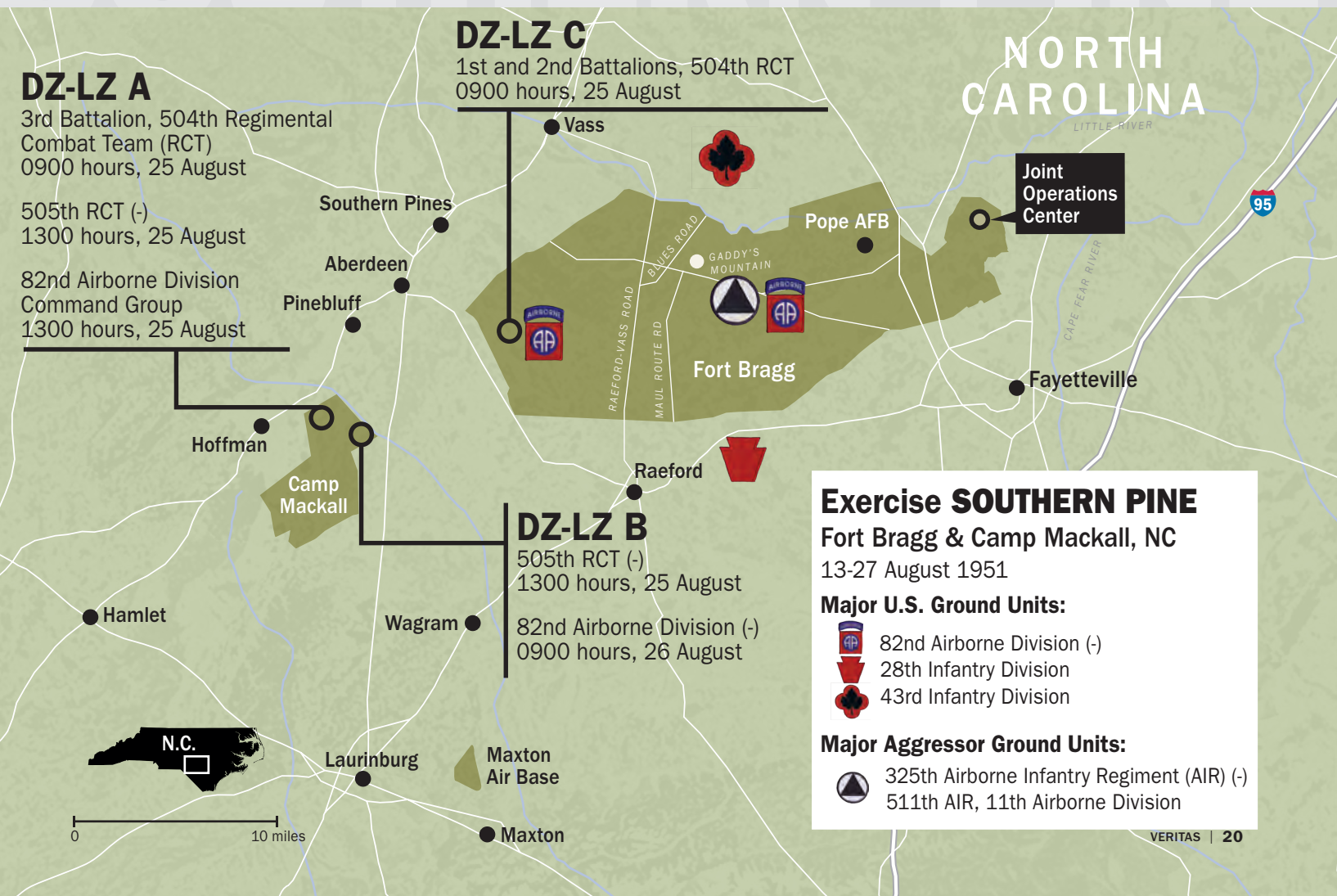
complemented printed messages. In addition, the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L introduced “Lorelei, the Velvet Voice of Aggressor.” Promoting her nightly local radio broadcasts on Aggressor News Network, a mock enemy news station, one leaflet offered a written sample of Lorelei’s messages: “I hope you’ll like me, fellas. . . Will you listen to me each night? Please? I promise you, fellas, you won’t regret it.”<sup>19</sup> The detachment recruited local girls to pose for leaflets and to speak on air as Lorelei.



Supporting ‘Aggressor Forces’ against U.S. forces during SOUTHERN PINE, the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L disseminated this leaflet to soldiers of the recently federalized 28th Infantry Division. (The encircled triangles on this leaflet were the emblems of Aggressor.)



A local girl, Gladys Mathews, volunteered to be “Lorelei, the Velvet Voice of Aggressor,” during Exercise SOUTHERN PINE in August 1951. “Lorelei” was the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L’s most iconic product series.







Washington, DC native PFC Ralph J. Edinger transferred from the 1st RB&L to the 2nd L&L Supply Section just before the former deployed to Japan in August 1951.



Each L&L Company was authorized seventeen linguists: four in the Propaganda Platoon; and thirteen in the Loudspeaker Platoon. Here, Hawaii native and Japanese speaker PFC Shigeru Kiyabu uses a lip-mike to deliver a loudspeaker appeal.

Although the impact of the psywar products could not be fully quantified, the exercise had still afforded 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L personnel the chance to practice individual skills and work cohesively. On 3 September, CPT Clisham led the detachment—"flushed with triumph [as] virtually the only trained psywarriors"—back to Fort Riley.<sup>20</sup> However, many of these soldiers soon left the Army because they had reached the end of their service terms. Replacements filtered in as the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L tried to keep its training momentum going.

One new arrival was PFC Ralph J. Edinger. Drafted in April 1951, the Washington, DC, native attended basic training and Signal Supply Technician training at Camp Gordon, Georgia. He then got orders to the 1<sup>st</sup> RB&L. Friend and fellow soldier PFC William A. Elias said, "Ralph, this group is going to Korea, but our company commander doesn't need our MOSs. He is going to take us over and drop us off in Japan and make a swap with another unit."<sup>21</sup> Edinger and Elias requested transfers, resulting in orders to the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L. Edinger joined SFC John M. Goodwin and CPL Jintoku Kozuma in the Supply Section.

Another replacement was Milwaukee, Wisconsin, native and skilled pressman PFC Roy D. Adelmann. The 1950 draftee took basic training at Camp McCoy, Wisconsin, and served briefly as an engineer before receiving orders for radar training at Fort Bliss, Texas. However, his civilian printing skills resulted in the cancellation of his

schooling and reassignment to psywar. In late summer 1951, Adelmann reported to the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L as a plate-maker in the Publication Platoon. He was surprised that "all of the people there were so well-versed in their specific jobs, whether they were press, plate, or camera."<sup>22</sup> The influx of qualified personnel like Adelmann was the result of coordination between the OCPW at the Pentagon and The Adjutant General, and it greatly reduced the learning curve of new arrivals.

Although the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L had earlier lost most of its European linguists to the 5<sup>th</sup> L&L, it retained some foreign language speakers (primarily to serve in the Loudspeaker Platoon). These included CPL Dimitri J. Stancioff, a late 1951 arrival to the unit. Born in London, England to an American mother and Bulgarian father, Stancioff had lived in numerous European countries including England, Bulgaria, Italy, and Switzerland, picking up languages along the way. His family moved to the U.S. in August 1946. Drafted in 1950, Stancioff took basic training at Fort Jackson, South Carolina. As a result of his alien status and inability to get a security clearance, the Army shuffled him around. After serving at Fort Myer, Virginia; Edgewood Arsenal, Maryland; Fort McClellan, Alabama; and Washington, DC, he received orders to the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L and reported in November 1951.<sup>23</sup>

As new arrivals trickled in, unit training accelerated. For example, the Psywar Division, Department of Resident Instruction, AGS, had finished writing the Psywar NCO Course. Twenty-one 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L soldiers attended Psywar NCO Course #1, which began on 24 October and ended on 21 November.<sup>24</sup> One of the junior enlisted students, PFC Laubsted, remembered, "Mostly they talked about principles of what we were in there for. They didn't go into details about psychology or how to run a press or anything like that. They just explained the overall picture of what psywar was trying to achieve."<sup>25</sup> In late 1951, BG Robert A. McClure visited the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L and described its training progress as "pretty good."<sup>26</sup>

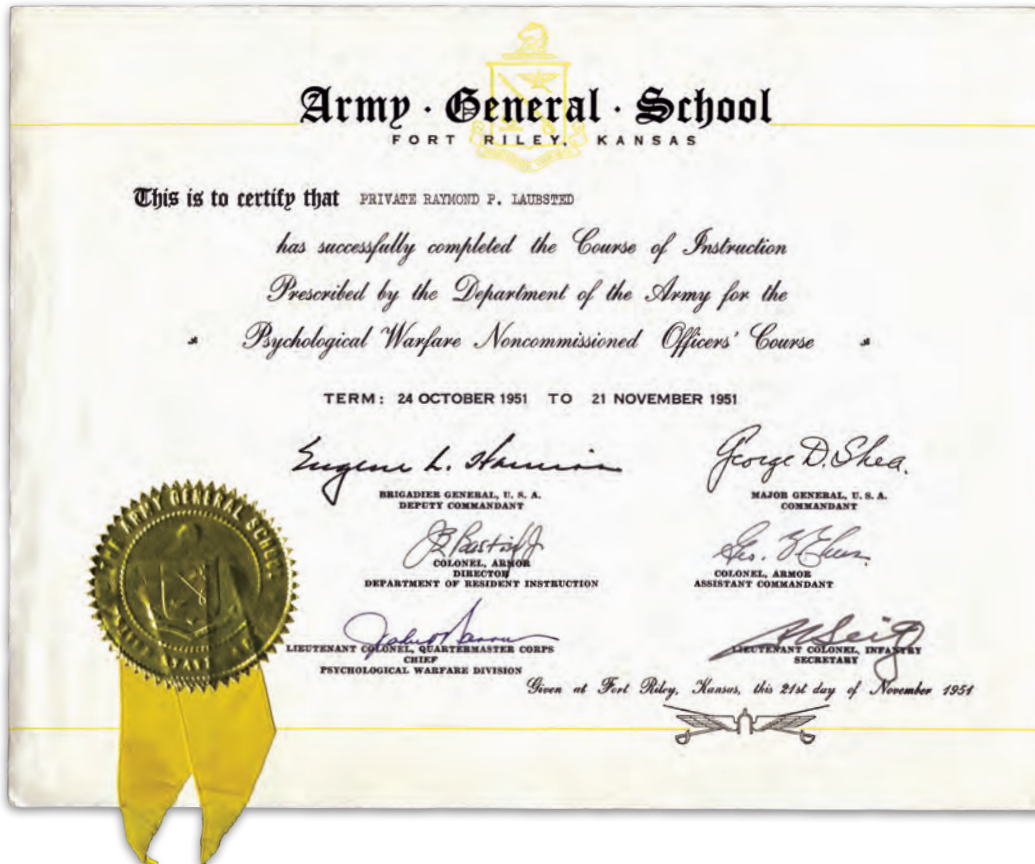
Company experiments with printing equipment yielded mediocre results. PFC Laubsted recalled, "One of our LTs decided that he wanted to run the motor-driven, automatic sheet-fed Davidson Model 221 presses (printing 10 x 14 inch sheets) in the vans while we were traveling. They hooked the generator up in the back, fired it up, and off we went down the highway. Lithography depends on water and ink in open fountains. On the first turn we made, all of the water went out." The men scrambled to keep water from damaging equipment. The LT wanted to run the press "cross-country over furrowed fields and places like that. We had a meeting and I said, 'Gee, it didn't work on the highway, how is it going to work somewhere like that? You'd have to have a sealed fountain. You'd have to go into development on something like that.'" That bad idea went nowhere, but another one surfaced. "They wanted to mount two presses in the back of C-119 Flying Boxcar cargo aircraft, have soldiers run these presses, and have the leaflets fly out as we were flying. I told them that you're



going to have to strap me in, and I can't be strapped in and run a press at the same time."<sup>27</sup> That idea soon died as well.

In late 1951, the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L received notice of upcoming Exercise SNOW FALL at Camp Drum, New York. SNOW FALL would emphasize: "1) individual survival, over-snow movement, and the use and care of weapons, equipment, and supplies; 2) planning and executing offensive and defensive operations, to include defense on a wide front [and] night

operations; 3) airborne operations; 4) tactical air operations; 5) air, motor, and rail movement; and 6) logistical support." Like SOUTHERN PINE, it sought to test joint operating procedures. LTG Willis D. Crittenger, Commanding General, First Army, served as maneuver director. MG Leland S. Hobbs, Deputy Commanding General, First Army, served as deputy maneuver director (ground) and MG Robert W. Douglas, Commanding General, Eighteenth



Psywar NCO Course #1 Graduation Certificate for Pressman PVT Raymond P. Laubsted.

Twenty-one 2nd L&L soldiers attended the inaugural Psywar NCO Course, 24 October-21 November 1951.

**Pictured here:**

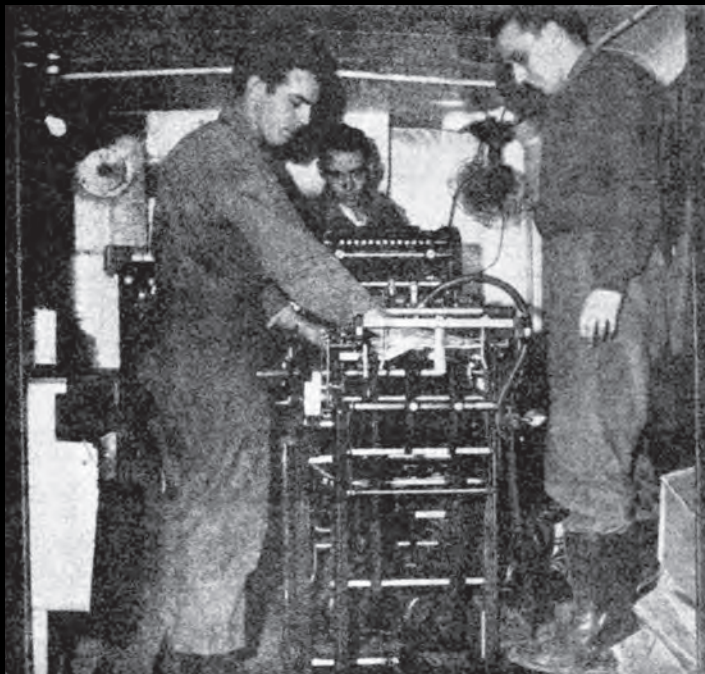
- 1 PVT William L. Fallon
- 2 PVT Marshall A. Blanchard
- 3 CPL Charles Ellison
- 4 PVT Donald C. Hillier
- 5 PVT Raymond P. Laubsted
- 6 PVT John J. Schmitt
- 7 SGT Karl J. Hentschel
- 8 CPL Dennis J. Guider
- 9 CPL Joel A. Leavitt
- 10 SGT Robert J. Cyr
- 11 PVT Richard E. Smith
- 12 PVT Ralph J. Edinger
- 13 PVT William A. Elias
- 14 PVT Marion H. White
- 15 PFC Shigeru Kiyabu
- 16 PFC Martin R. Kaiden
- 17 PVT Ralph B. Davis
- 18 PFC David G. Baker
- 19 PVT Everett W. Slagle
- 20 PVT Perry S. Samuels

**Not pictured:**

PVT Ronald B. Salisbury



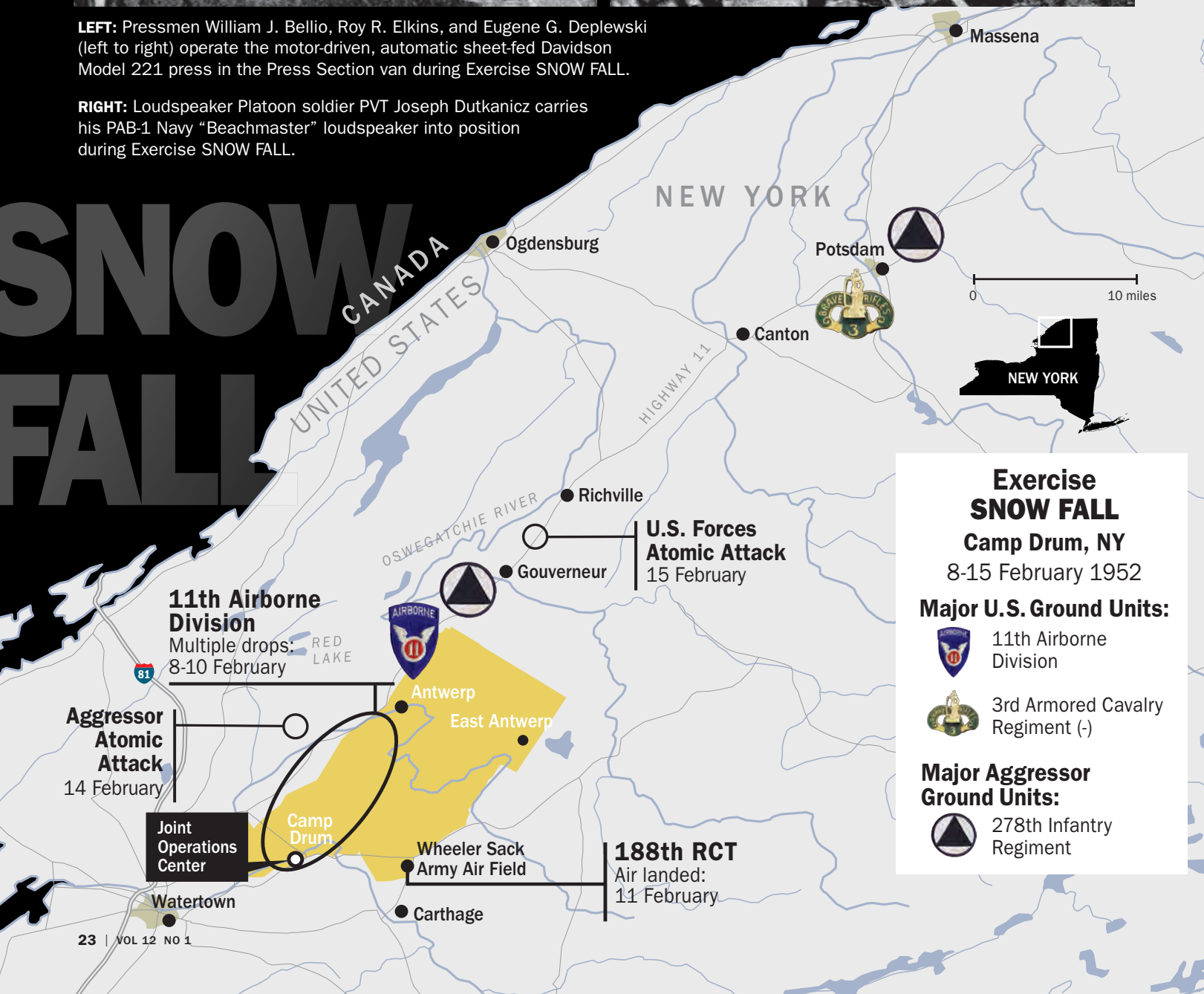




**LEFT:** Pressmen William J. Bellio, Roy R. Elkins, and Eugene G. Deplewski (left to right) operate the motor-driven, automatic sheet-fed Davidson Model 221 press in the Press Section van during Exercise SNOW FALL.

**RIGHT:** Loudspeaker Platoon soldier PVT Joseph Dutkanicz carries his PAB-1 Navy "Beachmaster" loudspeaker into position during Exercise SNOW FALL.

# SNOW FALL



## Exercise SNOW FALL

**Camp Drum, NY**

8-15 February 1952

### Major U.S. Ground Units:



11th Airborne  
Division



3rd Armored Cavalry  
Regiment (-)

### Major Aggressor Ground Units:



278th Infantry  
Regiment



Air Force, served as deputy maneuver director (air). U.S. forces included the 11th Airborne Division, the Fort Meade, Maryland-based 3<sup>rd</sup> Armored Cavalry Regiment (-) equipped with M-41 Walker Bulldog tanks, and about forty small units and detachments (including the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L). Aggressor ground forces came from the Fort Devens, Massachusetts-headquartered 278<sup>th</sup> Regimental Combat Team, a Tennessee Army National Guard unit federalized on 1 September 1950 for stateside infantry training.<sup>28</sup> The climate of upstate New York in winter 1952 would be a far cry from that of Camp Mackall, North Carolina, six months earlier.

On 3 January 1952, one group of 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L soldiers began the 1,300-mile drive from Fort Riley to Camp Drum by convoy, followed five days later by another group traveling by rail. The entire detachment consisted of CPT Clisham, 1LTs Stein and James H. Chandler, 2LT Ivan Gilliam, and thirty enlisted soldiers. According to PFC Roy D. Adelman, "[On] our trip to New York, we were not attached to any other unit; just thirty of us, four [twelve-foot-long] shop vans, four road guard jeeps, a wrecker, and a 2½ ton [M-35]." The Camera, Plate, and Press Sections each had one van while the other carried miscellaneous supplies and equipment. On the trip, "We cut up a little, making the trucks backfire in the Penn State tunnels."<sup>29</sup>

Once at Camp Drum, 'Detachment 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L' were barracked with 11th Airborne personnel who were among some 10,000 paratroopers transported from Fort Campbell, Kentucky, to Wheeler-Sack Army Airfield (AAF), Camp Drum, by the U.S. Air Force Troop Carrier Air Division (Provisional) between 8 and 13 January.<sup>30</sup> According to CPL Robert N. Bauer, "Public Relations between the leaflet droppers and the paratroopers remained high throughout the maneuver."<sup>31</sup> Once again, the company had a month of area familiarization before the exercise kicked off in early February.

According to the hypothetical SNOW FALL training scenario, Aggressor forces occupying and consolidated in New Brunswick, Quebec, and Montreal, Canada had recently pushed southward into the U.S., advancing toward Potsdam. The first exercise phase—"build-up"—

lasted from 8 to 11 February, with X-day on 9 February. At the outset, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Armored Cavalry delayed Aggressor advances near Potsdam while 11th Airborne command elements jumped into the area between Camp Drum and Antwerp. The 503<sup>rd</sup> RCT augmented these paratroopers on X-day; the 511th RCT jumped in on X plus 1; and the 188<sup>th</sup> RCT air-landed at Wheeler-Sack AAF on X plus 2. Regarding conditions during airborne jumps, CPL Leavitt remembered: "The snow melted before the maneuver started, and the ground froze. They jumped in a little more wind than they were supposed to."<sup>32</sup> The hazardous environmental conditions reportedly caused numerous injuries. Still, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Armored Cavalry had held Aggressor off long enough to allow 11th Airborne elements to establish a Main Line of Resistance (MLR) north of Camp Drum.

The 'defensive phase' of SNOW FALL lasted from 11 to 14 February. The U.S. forces MLR ran from Red Lake to Antwerp to East Antwerp. Determined Aggressor assaults and a simulated tactical atomic attack on 14 February caused heavy 'casualties' (especially in the 511th RCT), but failed to breach the MLR. (At that time, the U.S. military perceived that "synergies between [tactical nuclear] weapons and small conventional forces would work to defend Europe against overwhelming Soviet forces.")<sup>33</sup> The final, 'offensive' phase of SNOW FALL lasted only one day, 15 February. Comprised of the 503<sup>rd</sup> RCT and a battalion of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Armored Cavalry Regiment, and supported by the 511<sup>th</sup> RCT, Task Force MOHICAN spearheaded an attack along U.S. Highway 11 against Aggressor main forces. At 0900 hours, U.S. forces dropped a simulated tactical atomic bomb on Aggressor reserves near Gouverneur, and at 1100 hours, 3/188<sup>th</sup> RCT jumped in just southwest of Canton to thwart the Aggressor withdrawal. Just after noon, that battalion linked up with the 3<sup>rd</sup> Armored Cavalry Regiment, sealing the fate of Aggressor and ending the exercise.<sup>34</sup>

Throughout the exercise, the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L "spread malingering and dereliction among the wily Aggressor foe," wrote CPL Joel A. Leavitt.<sup>35</sup> Thanks to the L&L, U.S. forces dropped nearly 50,000 leaflets and made fifteen loudspeaker broadcasts

Announcer William J. Petry (kneeling, left) reads a script while loudspeaker mechanics Igor Pizuka and Robert Johnson adjust the M-38 jeep-mounted public address system.









## Exercise LONG HORN



Fort Hood, TX

25 March – 9 April 1952

### Major U.S. Ground Units:

-  31st Infantry Division
-  47th Infantry Division
-  508th RCT
-  1st Armored Division

### Major Aggressor Ground Units:

-  82nd Airborne Division
-  17th Armored Cavalry Group

## DZ BLUE

508th RCT  
(8 April)

Brownwood

Mullin

Comanche

Hico

Hillsboro

Valley Mills

Waco

McGregor

## DZ RED

508th RCT  
(8 April)

Brady

San Saba

Lometa

Lampasas

Copperas Cove

Fort Hood

Killeen

Temple

## DZ REINERT

325th RCT (25 March)

AUSTIN

TEXAS



0 30 miles

10

Junction

35



ABOVE: Air liaison sergeant PFC Deboorne Piggot supervises a leaflet drop from a C-47 Skytrain over Lampasas during Exercise LONG HORN.



LEFT: The 2nd L&L distributed this leaflet on the citizens of Aggressor-occupied Lampasas, Texas, promising U.S. liberation of their city. Donning their distinctive black helmets, two Aggressor soldiers stand in front of their 'nation's' flag fully hoisted outside of the Lampasas courthouse.





Loudspeaker Platoon member PFC Presley D. Holmes (R) applied his knowledge from graduate study in Speech to coach PFC Shirley Attebury (L), Women's Army Corps, who played "Laura, the Voice of the U.S.," during Exercise LONG HORN. 'Laura Teams' from Loudspeaker Platoon played her recorded messages to distract Aggressor Forces.

to Aggressor. Propaganda Platoon personnel wrote and designed leaflets and six issues of *Frigid Times*, an exercise newsletter. When SNOW FALL ended, the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L traveled back to Fort Riley by road and train to fully reassemble at Fort Riley by 24 February.<sup>36</sup> Exercise LONG HORN awaited them.

The company had four days before the advance party left for Exercise LONG HORN at Fort Hood, Texas that was scheduled for 25 March-9 April 1952. To further complicate matters, the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L was to relocate to Fort Bragg shortly after the exercise. According to the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L yearbook, "Everything had to be cleaned up, packed up, and shipped off; we were turning in our barracks and all of our buildings." Recently appointed Personnel Administrative Specialist CPL Frank R. Haus, recalled, "I had to pack up the company personnel records for the trip by convoy. I even wound up handling the physical crating of the records, going so far as to design and build a crate that when opened up and placed on legs became my temporary desk at Fort Hood." 1LT Jack L. Thiess and CPLs Martin A. Kaiden and Joel A. Leavitt formed the Advanced Echelon (ADVON) to Fort Hood, arranging mess, barracks, and supply before the company arrived.<sup>37</sup>

Along with the 23<sup>rd</sup> Signal Company and D Company, 43<sup>rd</sup> Army Engineer Camouflage Battalion, the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L left Fort Riley on 28 February, and arrived at Fort Hood on 1 March after stops at Tinker Air Force Base, Okalahoma, and Fort Worth, Texas. Haus remembered, "Upon our arrival at Fort Hood, most of the men that had traveled in open jeeps had to report [to] sick-call for extreme sun and wind burn."<sup>38</sup> Clisham praised his men "on the conduct of the convoy coming down. One thing's for sure, the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L is reaching its aim to be so mobile that most of us are a little ground sick when the wheels stop rolling and we have to get out and walk."<sup>39</sup> The company would 'live' and work on Fort Hood during the exercise.

LONG HORN had the same basic objectives as previous exercises—test and validate joint SOPs in order to better prepare U.S. forces to defend Europe from a Soviet attack. LTG William M. Hoge, Commanding General, Fourth Army, was maneuver director. MG E.J. Timberlake, Commanding General, Ninth Air Force, served as deputy

maneuver director (air) and MG Hobart R. Gay, Deputy Commanding General, Fourth Army, served as maneuver director (ground). U.S. ground forces consisted of the 31<sup>st</sup> ID from Fort Jackson, South Carolina, the 47<sup>th</sup> ID from Camp Rucker, Alabama, the 1<sup>st</sup> Armored Division from Fort Hood, and the 508<sup>th</sup> RCT from Fort Bragg. Aggressor included the 82<sup>nd</sup> Airborne Division and the 17<sup>th</sup> Armored Cavalry Group from Camp Polk, Louisiana. The Camp Polk-based 301<sup>st</sup> Army Logistical Command supported both sides.<sup>40</sup>

The hypothetical training scenario for LONG HORN was as follows. The aggressor invaded Texas in September 1951, pushed inland, captured San Antonio by December, and was advancing northward up the Colorado River toward Brownwood. Meanwhile, to the northeast of Fort Hood, Aggressor mechanized attacks broke U.S. positions along Little and Brazos Rivers with the goal of capturing Waco. The rectangular ground maneuver area covered Goldthwaite to the northwest, Gatesville to the northeast, Killeen to the southeast, and San Saba to the southwest. LONG HORN played out in three phases: 25-30 March, 2-5 April, and 7-9 April. On the defensive for the first two phases, U.S. forces had the initiative by Phase III. Following 1<sup>st</sup> Armored advances and airborne drops by the 508<sup>th</sup> RCT astride the Colorado River, Phase III ended on 9 April when the 1<sup>st</sup> Armored Division linked up with the 508<sup>th</sup> RCT and U.S. forces seized the objective, San Saba.<sup>41</sup>

The 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L psywar efforts during LONG HORN surpassed those of SOUTHERN PINE and SNOW FALL. Throughout the exercise, the 2<sup>nd</sup> designed sixteen leaflets (eleven for the U.S. and five for the Aggressor) and printed over 500,000.<sup>42</sup> "The presses never stopped running," said PFC Adelman.<sup>43</sup> For the first time, the company developed leaflets for civilian target audiences: one 'resistance' leaflet for citizens of Lampasas (some twenty-five miles from Fort Hood) under Aggressor 'rule' and a leaflet after U.S. forces liberated the town. Air liaison sergeant PFC Deboorne Piggot personally dropped 40,000 leaflets from C-47s over Lampasas. Adelman recalled another product, a warning leaflet with a black widow on the front, and a rattlesnake and Rocky Mountain wood tick on the reverse. "This leaflet was dropped on American troops taking a





CPT George B. Blackstock, a recent combat veteran of the 9th Infantry Regiment in Korea, assumed command of the 2nd L&L on 11 June 1952.

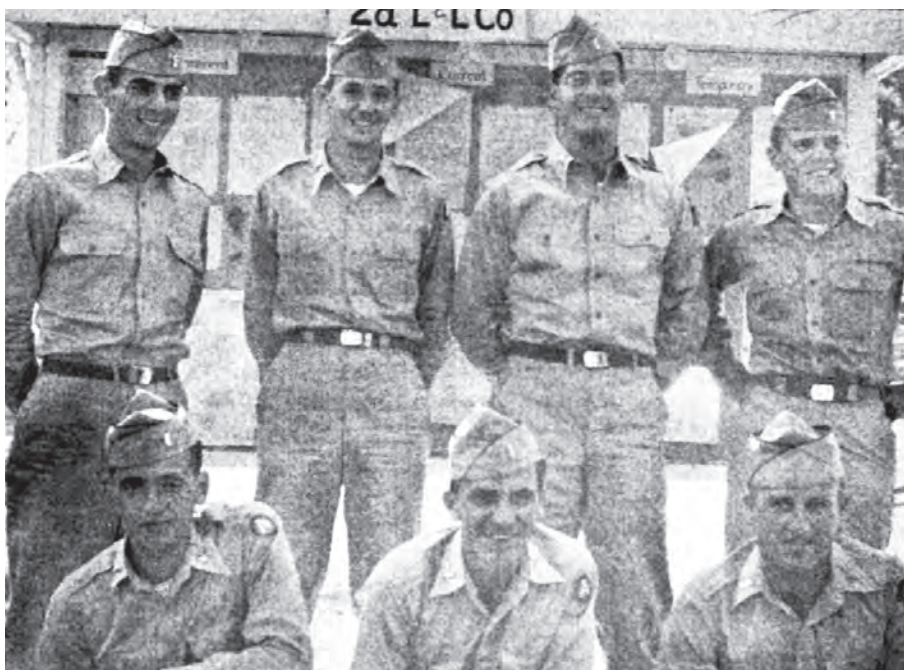


SGT Frank R. Haus, Personnel Administrative Specialist in the 2nd L&L, poses by the sign of the company's higher headquarters, the 6th RB&L Group, on Smoke Bomb Hill. The 2nd L&L and 6th RB&L were located at the corner of what is today 9th Infantry Street and Son Tay Road.

hill top. It worked. It took the troops twice the time it should have, which could have made the difference in a tactical situation. When interviewed, the American troops thought the leaflet was a warning to be careful . . . One man in our outfit got a wood tick on him [and] he thought he would die." Ironically, "he was in on producing the leaflet. It shows what your mind can concoct. That was the best leaflet we produced."<sup>44</sup>

In addition to leaflets, during LONG HORN, Publication Platoon printed the company newsletter, *The Brieflet*, under the directorship of 1LT Thiess. The LT wrote that a "considerable number of the copies of [*The Brieflet*] are being distributed externally, and . . . they may arouse some curiosity and interest among recipients unfamiliar with the organization for, and the purpose of, [psywar]." He informed readers: "our primary mission on these maneuvers is to add realism, and within the scope of obvious limitations and restrictions, actually to wage a propaganda campaign employing loudspeakers and leaflets just as we would in combat."<sup>45</sup>

Finally, for LONG HORN the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L created "Laura, the Voice of the U.S.," the equivalent to Lorelei during SOUTHERN PINE ten months earlier. They selected PFC Shirley Attebury, Women's Army Corps, to play Laura. CPL Ralph B. Davis from Propaganda Platoon and PFC Presley D. Holmes from Loudspeaker Platoon (who had a Master's Degree in Speech from the University of Michigan) coached 'Laura' during five recordings and edited them. The messages were then given to "Laura teams" (loudspeaker teams tasked to only play her messages). More than once, Aggressor forces (thinking that Laura was broadcasting live) attacked Laura teams to try to capture her. Loudspeaker personnel got 'killed' multiple times during LONG HORN.<sup>46</sup>



Posing here are the Loudspeaker Platoon officers soon after the 2nd L&L transferred to Fort Bragg: 2LTs Nicholas H. Zumas, Edgar L. Feingold, Martin C. Crandall, and Fred D. Kitch (standing, left to right), and 2LTs Laurence M. Schmeidler and Thomas G. Pazell and 1LT James H. Chandler.



# The Brieflet

PRODUCED BY THE 2D LOUDSPEAKER & LEAFLET CO -

FORT RILEY, KANSAS

Vol. 2. No. 1.

FORT HOOD, TEXAS

March 19, 1952

The 2nd L&L printed this issue of *The Brieflet* (Vol. 2, No. 1) just prior to the kickoff of Exercise LONG HORN (24 March-10 April 1952), to explain the exercise and the role of psywar to residents of Fort Hood and surrounding areas.

The company convoyed back to Fort Riley and arrived on 16 April 1952, the last time it would return to that post since all psywar activities were relocating to Fort Bragg. Personnel lived in temporary billeting while the company finished last-minute requirements for the move. SGT Haus had the unenviable task of processing all enlisted records for the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L and the Psywar Detachment, 5021<sup>st</sup> ASU, a carrier unit soon to become the 6<sup>th</sup> RB&L Group (activated 26 April 1952), before moving to the Army's new Psywar Center.<sup>47</sup> On 1 June, an ADVON consisting of 1LT Kaye, 2LT Thomas G. Pazell, and five enlisted personnel left for Fort Bragg. The main body continued to prepare to move. A month before the transfer, on 10 May, CPT Clisham became I Corps Psywar Officer in Korea. Two acting commanders, CPT Robert B. Bleecker and 1LT James H. Chandler, Jr., filled the void until the unit arrived at Fort Bragg.<sup>48</sup>

The 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L was fully on station by 17 June. At Fort Bragg, it met its new commander, CPT George B. Blackstock, a 9<sup>th</sup> Infantry, 2<sup>nd</sup> ID Silver Star recipient from Korea.<sup>49</sup> The 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L belonged to the Psywar Center, the higher headquarters for the 10<sup>th</sup> Special Forces Group (SFG), the 6<sup>th</sup> RB&L, the Psywar Board, and the Psywar School.<sup>50</sup> The 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L was attached to the 6<sup>th</sup> RB&L for administrative purposes before formally being assigned.<sup>51</sup> The 6<sup>th</sup> RB&L consisted of the Headquarters and Headquarters Company, the 8<sup>th</sup> Mobile Radio Broadcasting Company, the 7<sup>th</sup> Reproduction Company, the 9<sup>th</sup> L&L (activated 26 April 1952), and the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L.<sup>52</sup> A year later, the 6<sup>th</sup> RB&L also assumed control of the 12<sup>th</sup> Consolidation Company (activated 27 May 1953). The purpose of the latter unit was to support Civil Affairs/Military Government units by "providing information to, and assisting in the direction and/or control of, civilian populations." It might operate "in friendly, liberated, or enemy areas," where it would supervise or control local or national media to achieve "maximum cooperation of the civilian population."<sup>53</sup>

The new 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L and 6<sup>th</sup> RB&L home was Smoke Bomb Hill, at the corner of what is today 9th Infantry Street

and Son Tay Road. According to SGT Haus, "The entire company was restricted . . . for three days while we got everything in shape. After [that] we were allowed to look over the post . . . Then, Class A passes were issued and we were allowed to leave the post for the first time in a week . . . Several things we learned very quickly; first, don't go off post with 'bloused' boots as that was the prerogative of the airborne, and two, don't get in between the boys from the 82<sup>nd</sup> Airborne and the Air Force boys from Pope Base since a fight could break out at the drop of a hat."<sup>54</sup> PFC Edinger recalled, "The airborne couldn't stand us. I stayed away from them."<sup>55</sup> PFC Laubsted said similarly, "We were all surrounded by airborne soldiers. They were really gung-ho, and you were very careful what you said."<sup>56</sup>

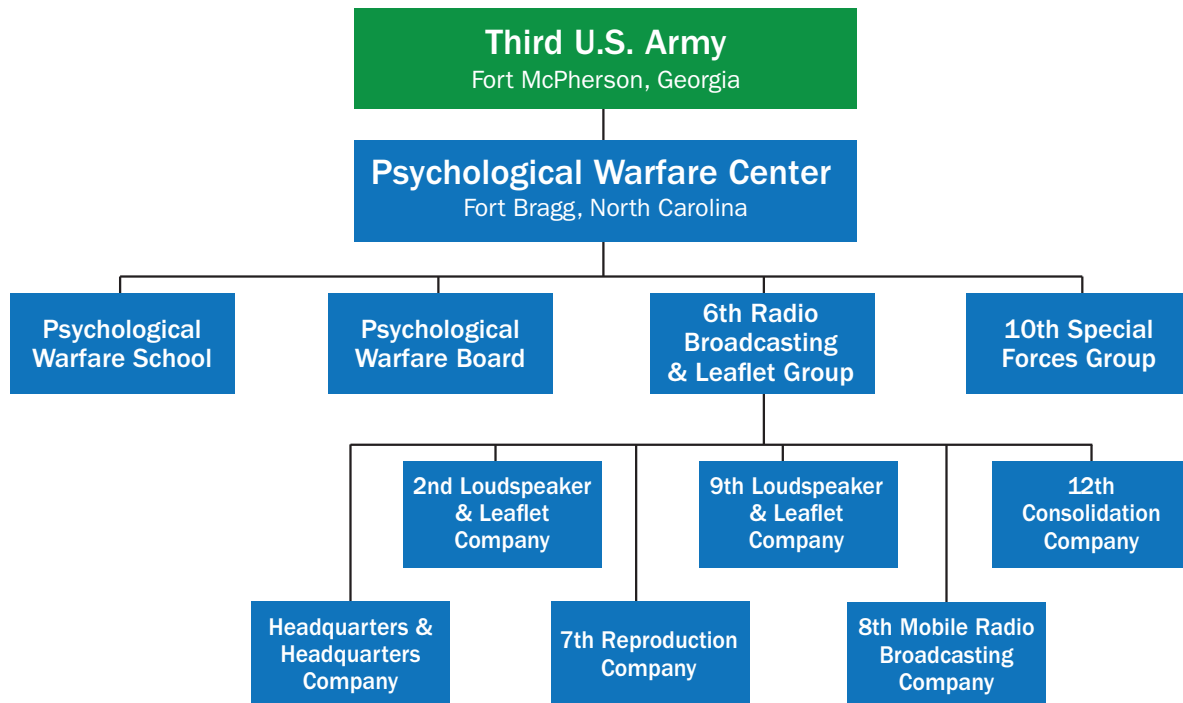
Soon after the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L arrived at Fort Bragg, 2LT Edgar L. Feingold reported to the Loudspeaker Platoon. A former enlisted military policeman in Osaka, Japan, after WWII, Feingold left the service in 1947 to attend Georgetown University in Washington, DC. While a student majoring in Foreign Service, he was a reporter for the *Baltimore Sun*. The newly minted 2LT (Reserve Officers' Training Corps [ROTC]) was surprised when, "Out of the blue, I got orders for psywar. I think the Army looked at my background at the *Sun*." Feingold similarly noted the contrast between 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L and other Fort Bragg units. "At that time, the Center was a combination of psywar and Special Forces. All the psywar officers and enlisted men were engaged in these creative activities. On the other side were these combat arms soldiers who used to come by and give us a lot of hassle."<sup>57</sup>

At Fort Bragg, company personnel worked diligently to get unit administration straight. 'Dual-hatted' as the personnel clerk for the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L and the 6<sup>th</sup> RB&L, SGT Haus worked for the Group Adjutant 1LT Don M. Anderson. "First order of business for me was going over all the personnel records," said Haus. "All personnel had to have [a] security clearance and this was our first priority . . . Because we needed foreign language experts, we had quite a few men from Russian-dominated [and] far



# Psychological Warfare Organization

## Fort Bragg, NC 1953



eastern countries. It was extremely hard to get credible information on those born behind the Iron Curtain.”<sup>58</sup> For a while, administration filled the days.

In contrast to the operational tempo at Fort Riley, 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L field training at Fort Bragg was slow-going. CPT Blackstock, 1LT Chandler, and 2LT Pazell did additional individual psywar training, but this was not the norm. “Mainly we were just locked into our area,” PFC Edinger remembered.<sup>59</sup> According to PFC Laubsted, “I had so little to do that I volunteered to be company driver. I was just plain bored.”<sup>60</sup> A several months-long training lull hurt unit morale and readiness.

The company did receive some new equipment, including mobile printing equipment installed in two twenty-seven-foot long, temperature- and humidity-controlled vans. One van with an electric typewriter and varitypes, “pre-digital age” word processors used to produce “neat, camera-ready copy for offset printing,” went to the Propaganda Platoon. The other van had a new stream-fed, offset multi-lithographic Harris LTV 35 x 45 inch press, as well as a camera and plate section to prepare photographic plates for publication.<sup>61</sup> PFC Adelmann recalled, “The only problem was that we were so congested in the van that every time we ran out of paper, we had to use a hoist to bring another roll inside.”<sup>62</sup>

With little else happening, several junior enlisted soldiers left the 2<sup>nd</sup> in October-November 1952 to join psywar units

and staffs in Europe and the Far East.<sup>63</sup> SGT Haus recalled that “most of the men that could not be [security] cleared ultimately wound up in the Far East Command.”<sup>64</sup> Other soldiers simply transferred to other Fort Bragg units or were discharged. Although the size of the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L fluctuated between 1952 and its 21 February 1955 inactivation, the company remained a tactically ready psywar training asset for Army Field Forces and the Psywar Center.<sup>65</sup>

The 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L was the first T/O&E Loudspeaker and Leaflet Company activated stateside as part of the U.S. Army effort to rebuild a psywar capability during the Korean War. Unlike its counterparts, the 1<sup>st</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> L&Ls, it did not go overseas. Instead, it stayed in the U.S. to support Army Field Forces. It did three large training maneuvers in 1951-1952 (SOUTHERN PINE at Camp Mackall and Fort Bragg, NC; SNOW FALL at Camp Drum, New York; and LONG HORN at Fort Hood, Texas), exposing conventional Army units to psywar. After leaving Fort Riley in June 1952 and being assigned to the 6<sup>th</sup> RB&L, the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L remained an adept training asset for the Psywar Center until 1955. With an active duty tenure of less than five years, it did valuable, realistic training during a formative period in U.S. Army psywar history. †

*The author would like to thank the veterans of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Loudspeaker and Leaflet Company, Mr. Walter Elkins, and Mr. Doug Elwell, for their assistance with this article.*





Pressmen Roy R. Elkins, Everett W. Slagle, William J. Bellio, and Michael Garbacz (L to R) operate the new offset multi-lithographic Harris LTV 35 x 45 inch press. The Camera and Plate Sections were located behind the press in the Publication Platoon van. The 1952 company yearbook, *Psyd-Lites*, was the first item produced on Publication Platoon's new roll-fed, high-speed Harris press.



## JARED M. TRACY, PhD

Jared M. Tracy served six years in the U.S. Army, and became a historian at USASOC in December 2010. He earned an MA in History from Virginia Commonwealth University and a PhD in History from Kansas State University. His research is focused on the history of U.S. Army psychological operations.

## Endnotes

- 1 "War by Leaflets Stirs Fort Bragg: Psychological Units Also Use Loudspeakers to Woo 'Foe' in Test at Maneuvers," *New York Times*, 15 November 1953, 47.
- 2 Department of the Army, "Table of Organization and Equipment 20-77: Loudspeaker and Leaflet Company, Army," 1 September 1950, Center of Military History, Fort McNair, Washington, DC.
- 3 Psychological Warfare School, *Special Text 33-25-1: Psychological Warfare Field Operational Units* (Fort Bragg, NC: 1953), 3, U.S. Army Heritage and Education Center (USAHEC), Carlisle, PA.
- 4 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L Company, "Psydl-Lites" (company yearbook), 1952, USAHEC.
- 5 Robert F. Denault, 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L, interview with Jared M. Tracy, 5 August 2011, USASOC History Office Classified Files, Fort Bragg, NC.
- 6 Morning Reports, 1-18 January 1952 and 1-14 June 1952, 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L, National Personnel Records Center/National Archives and Records Administration (NPRC/NARA), St. Louis, MO.
- 7 "T/O&E 20-77."
- 8 Joel A. Leavitt, 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L, interview with Jared M. Tracy, 11 April 2012, USASOC History Office Classified Files, Fort Bragg, NC.
- 9 Raymond P. Laubsted interview, 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L, interview with Jared M. Tracy, 22 March 2012, USASOC History Office Classified Files, Fort Bragg, NC.
- 10 Jared M. Tracy, "The Flood at Fort Riley, May-July 1951," *Veritas: Journal of Army Special Operations History* 10/1 (2015): 41-42; Frank R. Haus, "Recollections of the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L Company," 1, <http://members.fortunecity.com/2dlandl/recollections.html> (accessed 13 March 2012).
- 11 Laubsted interview, 22 March 2012.
- 12 5<sup>th</sup> L&L, "5<sup>th</sup> Loudspeaker and Leaflet Company, 1951-1952" (company yearbook), no date, Box 365, Record Group 338, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), College Park, MD; "Psydl-Lites"; Headquarters, Fort Riley, "Special Orders #165," 14 June 1951, NPRC/NARA; 5<sup>th</sup> L&L, "Walters Named to Korea Psywar," *The Leaflet*, 30 November 1951, 4. 1LT Walters was briefly 'dual-hatted' as 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L commander and acting 5<sup>th</sup> L&L commander. He soon went to the Far East Company for another psywar assignment.
- 13 Ralph D. Bald, Jr., *Air Force Participation in Joint Army-Air Force Training Exercises, 1951-1954* (Maxwell Air Force Base: Air University, 1957), 1, 3-4.
- 14 A typical 3,700-man Infantry Regiment at this time had an HHC, three infantry battalions (each with an HHC, three rifle companies, and a heavy weapons company), a heavy mortar company (with a HQ and two heavy mortar platoons), a tank company (with a HQ and four tank platoons), a service company, and a medical company. An Airborne Infantry Regiment generally 'looked like' an infantry regiment, but was slightly lighter (roughly 3,400 men). The AIR did not have a heavy mortar or tank company, but rather a single airborne support company with a HQ, two heavy mortar platoons, and an antitank platoon. Finally, a typical Regimental Combat Team had its usual infantry battalions, a 105 mm field artillery battalion, an engineer combat company, sometimes a tank company or anti-aircraft artillery automatic weapons battery, a signal detachment, and other organic elements. Gordon Rottman, *Korean War Order of Battle: United States, United Nations, and Communist Ground, Naval, and Air Forces, 1950-1953* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002), 18-20.
- 15 The 28<sup>th</sup> ID, for one, moved from Camp Atterbury to Fort Bragg between 28 July and 14 August by motor, rail, and air. "Men and vehicles of the 28<sup>th</sup> became a familiar sight to the residents of Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, South and North Carolina as the long convoys rolled through many cities and towns of those states. Troop trains loaded with men and supplies departed from the rail head at Camp Atterbury almost continually during that period. Movement of the entire Division was completed with no extraordinary incidents or problems occurring." Moving a division was a massive undertaking. Among the elements of a typical 19,000-man infantry division at the time were a Headquarters and Headquarters Company (HHC), three infantry regiments, division artillery, division troops, division special troops, and miscellaneous attachments. 28<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division, *Twenty-Eighth Infantry Division, United States Army: Pictorial Review, Europe, 1951-1952* (Atlanta: Albert Love Enterprises, 1952); Rottman, *Korean War Order of Battle*, 16-18; United States Army, "Directory and Station List of the United States Army," 2 July 1951, <http://cdm16635.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/ref/collection/pl6635coll14/id/50372> (accessed 16 July 2015).
- 16 Associated Press quotation from 14 August 1951 cited in Robert F. Dorr, "Exercise Southern Pine Illustrated Cold War Era Priorities," <http://www.defensemedianetwork.com/stories/exercise-southern-pine-illustrated-cold-war-era-priorities/> (accessed 14 July 2015).
- 17 "Psydl-Lites."
- 18 Bald, *Air Force Participation in Joint Army-Air Force Training Exercises*, 5, 7.
- 19 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L, "Listen to Lorelei," leaflet, no date (ca. July 1951), copy in USASOC History Office Classified Files, Fort Bragg, NC.
- 20 "Psydl-Lites."
- 21 Ralph J. Edinger, 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L, interview with Jared M. Tracy, 16 March 2012, USASOC History Office Classified Files, Fort Bragg, NC.
- 22 Roy D. Adelman, 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L, interview with Jared M. Tracy, 16 August 2011, USASOC History Office Classified Files, Fort Bragg, NC.
- 23 Dimitri J. Stancioff, 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L, interview with Jared M. Tracy, 12 June 2012, USASOC History Office Classified Files, Fort Bragg, NC.
- 24 Headquarters, Fort Riley, "Special Orders #290," 17 October 1951, NPRC/NARA; "Psydl-Lites; Army General School, Fort Riley, "Graduation Exercises for Psychological Warfare Noncommissioned Officers' Class No. 1," 21 November 1951, copy in USASOC History Office Classified Files, Fort Bragg, NC.
- 25 Laubsted interview, 22 March 2012.
- 26 5<sup>th</sup> L&L, "McClure Inspects 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L at Riley," *The Leaflet*, 30 November 1951, 4.
- 27 Laubsted interview, 22 March 2012.
- 28 Bald, *Air Force Participation in Joint Army-Air Force Training Exercises*, 26-27, 29.
- 29 Letter from Roy D. Adelman to Jared M. Tracy, no date, USASOC History Office Classified Files, Fort Bragg, NC, hereafter Adelman letter; Adelman interview, 16 August 2011.
- 30 Bald, *Air Force Participation in Joint Army-Air Force Training Exercises*, 29.
- 31 "Psydl-Lites"; Robert N. Bauer, "Exercise SNOW FALL," *The Brieflet*, 19 March 1952, 3.
- 32 Leavitt interview, 11 April 2012.
- 33 Paul Schulte, "Tactical Nuclear Weapons in NATO and Beyond: A Historical and Thematic Examination," in Tom Nichols, Douglas Stuart, and Jeffrey D. McCausland, eds., *Tactical Nuclear Weapons and NATO* (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, 2012), 17.
- 34 Bald, *Air Force Participation in Joint Army-Air Force Training Exercises*, 31.
- 35 Joel A. Leavitt, "More SNOW . . .," *The Brieflet*, 19 March 1952, 4.
- 36 "Psydl-Lites."
- 37 "Psydl-Lites"; letter from Frank R. Haus, Jr. to Jared M. Tracy, 12 March 2012, USASOC History Office Classified Files, Fort Bragg, NC.
- 38 "Recollections of the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L Company," 1.
- 39 "Psydl-Lites"; James R. Bunting, "Company Motors to Texas," *The Brieflet*, 19 March 1952, 1, 6; Howard R. Clisham, "CO's Time," *The Brieflet*, 19 March 1952, 1.
- 40 United States Army, "Directory and Station List of the United States Army," 2 January 1952, <http://cdm16635.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/ref/collection/pl6635coll14/id/52977> (accessed 16 July 2015).
- 41 Bald, *Air Force Participation in Joint Army-Air Force Training Exercises*, 49, 51, and 54.
- 42 "Psydl-Lites."
- 43 Adelman interview, 16 August 2011.
- 44 Adelman letter.
- 45 Jack L. Thiess, "Psywar Mission for LONG HORN," *The Brieflet*, 19 March 1952, 2.
- 46 Preston D. Holmes, 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L, interview with Jared M. Tracy, 20 March 2012, USASOC History Office Classified Files, Fort Bragg, NC.
- 47 Headquarters, Fifth Army, "General Orders #50: Organization of 6<sup>th</sup> Radio Broadcasting and Leaflet Group, Fort Riley, Kansas," 25 April 1952, NPRC/NARA; "Recollections of the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L Company," 2.
- 48 "Psydl-Lites."
- 49 Silver Star award citation for George B. Blackstock, 27 February 1951, <http://militarytimes.com/citations-medals-awards/recipient.php?recipientid=54139>, accessed 10 October 2012. CPT George B. Blackstock commanded from 11 June to 19 November; 1LT Dwayne A. Panzer assumed command on 20 November 1952.
- 50 "Psydl-Lites."
- 51 "Recollections of the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L Company," 3; Office of the Commanding General, Headquarters, Fort Bragg, "SUBJECT: Welcome to Fort Bragg to the Officers and Men of the Psychological Warfare Center," 10 July 1952, cited in 6<sup>th</sup> RB&L, *The Psyn-Post*, 12 September 1952; Dr. Charles H. Briscoe, "A Clearer View of Psywar at Fort Riley & Fort Bragg, 1951-1952," *Veritas: Journal of Army Special Operations History* 5/4 (2009): 68.
- 52 Headquarters, Fifth Army, "General Orders #50: Activation of 9<sup>th</sup> Loudspeaker and Leaflet Company, Army, Fort Riley, Kansas," 25 April 1952, NPRC/NARA.
- 53 Special Warfare School, *Combat Developments Study: Consolidation Psychological Warfare in Support of CA/MG and MP Activities* (Fort Bragg, NC: 1958), 1-2.
- 54 "Recollections of the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L Company," 2.
- 55 Edinger interview, 16 March 2012.
- 56 Laubsted interview, 22 March 2012.
- 57 Edgar L. Feingold, 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L, interview with Jared M. Tracy, 8 August 2011, USASOC History Office Classified Files, Fort Bragg, NC.
- 58 "Recollections of the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L Company," 2-3.
- 59 Edinger interview, 16 March 2012.
- 60 Laubsted interview, 22 March 2012.
- 61 "Recollections of the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L Company," 3; "The Classical Typewriter Page," <http://staff.xu.edu/polit/typewriters/varityper.html> (accessed 7 April 2015).
- 62 Adelman interview, 16 August 2011.
- 63 "Psydl-Lites."
- 64 "Recollections of the 2<sup>nd</sup> L&L Company," 3.
- 65 Email from William M. Yarborough to Jared M. Tracy, "SUBJECT: 1<sup>st</sup> RB&L T/O&E," 3 February 2015, USASOC History Office Classified Files, Fort Bragg, NC.



# Setting the 'Rising Sun'

by Troy J. Sacquety

## The WWII service of Psywarrior Elizabeth McIntosh

On 8 June 2015, Elizabeth P. McIntosh passed away at the age of 100.<sup>1</sup> Although she led a full life, within the Army Special Operations community she is most remembered for her World War II service. As a civilian in the Morale Operations (MO) Branch of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), McIntosh was one of the first females to conduct Psychological Operations overseas.

The OSS, created on 13 June 1942 and headed by William J. Donovan, had a two-fold mission. First, it collected, analyzed, and disseminated foreign intelligence. Second, it conducted unconventional warfare. This last function included psychological warfare, under its MO Branch. Donovan believed that "persuasion, penetration, and intimidation" were modern day counterparts to "sapping and mining in the siege warfare of former days."<sup>2</sup> For MO, this meant employing false rumors, leaflets, documents, and radio broadcasts to undermine "the morale of the enemy."<sup>3</sup> As such, MO produced and disseminated 'black' propaganda on both a strategic and tactical level in an attempt to destabilize enemy governments and encourage resistance movements. McIntosh was an ideal candidate for such work.

Born in Washington, D.C., on 1 March 1915 to parents who were journalists, Elizabeth Sebree Peet, had the family business in her blood. In 1935, she graduated from the



Nisei soldiers at Detachment 101 work on a Morale Operations Project. The documents and Japanese dispatch cases are similar to those utilized by McIntosh in Detachment 303.



Elizabeth P. McIntosh, then Elizabeth McDonald, in uniform in WWII. After OSS disbanded on 1 October 1945, former members received a pin to designate their service with the organization. Women who had served in the OSS could elect for a pendant to wear on a necklace.

University of Washington, School of Journalism. By 1941, she was married to fellow journalist Alex MacDonald, and had already worked for the *Honolulu Advertiser* and the *Star Bulletin*.<sup>4</sup> Because both wanted to go to Japan, they prepared for two years by living in a Japanese household and learning to speak the language.<sup>5</sup> The war prevented their plans to live and work in Japan.

Her first exposure to war was when she witnessed firsthand the 7 December 1941 Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. She remained a journalist in Hawaii until 1943 when "the Scripps/Howard news service picked me up . . . and sent me to Washington [D.C.] to cover the White House and write a daily column."<sup>6</sup> There, in 1943 while interviewing an old friend of her father's who happened to be in the OSS, she was asked to join. After completing training in OSS fieldcraft and MO techniques, she arrived in New Delhi, India in July 1944. There, she served in the MO office of Detachment 303, the OSS rear area administrative base for the Southeast Asia Command (SEAC).

While at Detachment 303, McIntosh's MO unit supported Detachment 404, the operational OSS element for SEAC. She learned to work with many partners in order to produce products. For example, her work included convincing Japanese POWs to help proofread fake orders to ensure that





MO artist Sergeant William A. Smith carries McIntosh across flood waters in Kunming China, 1945. The grinning man alongside is Chinese cartoonist Tong Ting. The building is the MO print shop.

they had the proper language and syntax. Then, the MO section had to coordinate with British officials for access to the correct types of paper and offset presses to convincingly create products that matched those of the enemy. Her MO office also provided products for OSS Detachment 101 in Burma, considered by the OSS to be its “most effective tactical combat force.”<sup>7</sup>

MO support to Detachment 101 is illustrated by this example from February 1945 in central Burma. The Detachment 303 MO section forged an order supposedly from the Japanese high command, reversing a no-surrender policy by declaring that soldiers could surrender if they were cut off, without ammunition, or incapacitated. They placed the fake document in a genuine Japanese dispatch case. A native agent then turned the case over to a Japanese military police headquarters at Maymyo, claiming to have found it beside a wrecked vehicle on the Mandalay-Maymyo road.<sup>8</sup> Other Detachment 101 agents slipped another copy of the same false orders into the headquarters of a Japanese infantry regiment. The MO Section followed these plants with a rumor campaign and then arranged an airdrop of leaflets near the Allied lines that purposefully fell on Japanese positions. Although meant for the Japanese, this leaflet directed Allied troops to treat Japanese prisoners well.<sup>9</sup> The hope was that this would provide further proof to the Japanese about the authenticity of the fake order.

In another example, the Detachment 303 MO section discovered several hundred farewell postcards handwritten and addressed by Japanese soldiers. The cards had already been censored by the Japanese, but had been captured before they made it into the enemy mail system. The MO section, with the help of OSS Nisei (Japanese-American personnel), erased and rewrote the letters. The ‘new’ postcards now had anti-patriotic messages that asked their families at home why they lacked supplies at the front while telling them about “heartbreak and starvation in the

jungles.”<sup>10</sup> Once rewritten, Detachment 101 used its agent network to insert the postcards back into the Japanese mail system to directly penetrate Japan proper with a message of despair from the edges of the Empire.

McIntosh then went to China to serve with Detachment 202. There, she worked with artists and cartoonists in developing propaganda leaflets. In addition, she helped craft rumors designed to undermine Japanese morale that were then broadcast over the radio.

After the war, McIntosh briefly worked in journalism before embarking on a career writing nonfiction and children’s books. She divorced MacDonald, who served in Thailand with the OSS service and remained to found the *Bangkok Post*. She then married Richard Heppner, a lawyer for Donovan’s law firm and the former head of OSS Detachment 202. The year after Heppner’s death in 1958, she used her OSS connections to begin working for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). She served in the CIA until retiring in 1973. She spent much of the remaining years living in an old farmhouse outside of Leesburg, Virginia, and married her third husband, former WWII fighter pilot Fred McIntosh. Despite the brevity of her service in Psychological Operations, she was one of the few female UW practitioners to serve overseas with the OSS. Her WWII experience helped to break barriers and still serves as an inspiration for today’s Psywarriors. ▲

#### TROY J. SACQUETY, PhD

Troy J. Sacquety earned an MA from the University of Nebraska–Lincoln and his PhD in Military History from Texas A&M University. Prior to joining the USASOC History Office staff he worked several years for the Central Intelligence Agency. Current research interests include Army and Office of Strategic Services (OSS) special operations during World War II, and U.S. Army Civil Affairs.

## Endnotes

- Adam Bernstein, “Elizabeth McIntosh, spy whose lies helped win a war, dies at 100,” *The Washington Post*, 8 June 2015, on Internet at [http://www.washingtonpost.com/national/elizabeth-mcintosh-spy-whose-lies-helped-win-a-war-dies-at-100/2015/06/08/6ed48900-0dfd-11e5-adee-e82f8395c032\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/national/elizabeth-mcintosh-spy-whose-lies-helped-win-a-war-dies-at-100/2015/06/08/6ed48900-0dfd-11e5-adee-e82f8395c032_story.html), accessed 18 June 2015.
- Kermit Roosevelt, *War Report of the O.S.S.* (New York: Walker & Company, 1976), 211.
- “Supplements to General Order No. 9,” 26 December 1944, Folder 2819-2820, Box 208, Entry 139, Research Group 226, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), College Park, MD.
- Elizabeth P. McIntosh, *Sisterhood of Spies: The Women of OSS* (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 1998), 197.
- Elizabeth McIntosh, interviewed by Maochun Yu, 2 May 1997, p. 3-4, part of the OSS Oral History Project, copy provided to author by the Central Intelligence Agency. Hereafter McIntosh interview.
- McIntosh interview, 1-2.
- Kermit Roosevelt, *The War Report of the OSS: The Overseas Targets* (New York: Walker and Company, 1976), xvii.
- “Personal Field Report of Fulton D’Gois (Fully),” 22 April 1945, F 78, B 43, E 190, RG 226, NARA.
- Norman R. Sturgis, Jr. to Chief, S&T Branch, OSS, Washington, D.C., “Monthly Report,” 21 February 1945, F 1565, B 147, E 136, RG 226, NARA, another copy is at F 2121, B 159, E 139, RG 226, NARA; Harold Gullixson, “Report of Experiences Encountered While Procuring A Mobile Reproduction Unit for Detachment 101,” 1 February 1945, F 27, B 35, E 190, RG 226, NARA, another copy is located at F 1295, B174, E 108B, RG 226, NARA; George H. Boldt to William J. Donovan, “MO/101 Operations,” 1 July 1945, F 3027, B 175, E 154, RG 226, NARA; More on the surrender order can be found at K.D. Mann to William J. Donovan, “False Surrender Order,” 26 March 1945, F 2042, B 151, E 139, RG 226, NARA; F 2053, B 151, E 139, RG 226, NARA.
- McIntosh, *Sisterhood of Spies*, 201-03.





# VIETNAM

## Casualty Resolution

**TOP U.S. PEACE PRIORITY** by Charles H. Briscoe



**T**he purpose of this introductory article is to show that the *modus operandi* for resolving American missing in action (MIA) cases was viable in South Vietnam from 1972-1974, despite U.S. combat troop withdrawals. It demonstrates that the information campaign prepared by psychological operations (PSYOP) was as critical to 'prepping the area of operations (AO)' as it is today. PSYOP designed information solicitation products for audiences ranging from illiterate village elders to grade school children in rural areas worked just as they do today in Afghanistan and Iraq. Targeting basics remain timeless. The article is centered around the experiences of a Vietnam PSYOP veteran, Major (MAJ) Paul D. Mather, who served fifteen years in the Joint Casualty Resolution Center (JCRC).

As the U.S.-driven Paris Peace negotiations proceeded, JCRC was created by the U.S. Pacific Command (PACOM) to resolve the status of some 2,500 MIA and MIA/BNR (body not recovered) military and civilians unaccounted for during hostilities throughout Southeast Asia (SEA). By conducting humanitarian operations it was to find and investigate more than 1,000 reported aircraft crash and grave sites on land and offshore. To get Communist acquiescence, JCRC would not be based in South Vietnam.<sup>1</sup> Being aware of the many challenges to mission accomplishment in 1973 will help one understand why many of the same problems still plague POW resolution teams today.

Some background on the American wartime personnel recovery program will precede an explanation of how JCRC evolved, its organizational structure, and mission. Several sequential temporary assignments in 1974 gave MAJ Mather 'hands on' roles in the operational cycle of field MIA resolutions. These led to the recovery of a Special Forces (SF) officer, MAJ George Quamo, Deputy Commander, Command and Control North (CCN), U.S. Military Assistance Command, Vietnam (MACV), Special Operations Group (SOG), and two more Americans in Hue. Quamo led the CCN relief force to rescue the survivors of the Lang Vei SF Camp after it was overrun 7-8 February 1968 by a succession of North Vietnamese Army (NVA) sapper-infantry-tank attacks. While U.S. servicemen were fighting, dying, and being wounded in SEA, their homeland was being torn asunder by massive social unrest country-wide.

The Vietnam War hardened American public attitude towards its military prisoners and those missing in action. While the U.S. government unceremoniously withdrew its combat troops in 1972 after fighting its longest war, a grass roots movement to organize the POW families and missing in SEA garnered serious political clout. Mrs. Sybil Stockdale, wife of Commander (CDR) James B. Stockdale (U.S. Navy pilot shot down 9 September 1965), formed a

**Opposite:** The remains of SP4 Valentine B. Vollmer, A Co, 1st Bn, 502nd Infantry, 101st Airborne Division (KIA 16 February 1968) and Mr. Steven A. Haukness, U.S. Information Agency, Da Nang (KIA 31 January 1968), recovered in early August 1974 outside Hue, were carried by *Air America* C-46 to Saigon before being transferred to the Central Identification Laboratory in Samae San, Thailand (CIL/THAI).

U.S. AIR FORCE

## LTC Paul D. Mather



**DOB:** 9 June 1938.

**POB:** Floyd County, Iowa.

**HS:** Greene, Iowa, 1955.

**College:** Iowa State University, B.S. Aeronautical Engineering, ROTC commission.

**1960-65:** Atlas Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) engineer assignments.

**1965-67:** University of Wyoming, M.A. Mechanical Engineering.

**1967-69:** Air Force Systems Command, Andrews AFB, Washington, DC.

**1969:** PSYOP Officers Course, U.S. Army John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center & School, Fort Bragg, NC.

**1969-70:** Military Assistance Command, Vietnam (MACV), An Loc Province Advisory Team.

**1971-72:** Engineer Project Officer (*Minuteman* ICBM), Hill AFB, UT.

**1972-73:** Engineer staff officer, Civil Operations and Rural Development (CORDS), MACV.

**1973-88:** JCRC J-3 PSYOP, Vietnam & Thailand.

**1988-90:** National Defense University, Washington, DC.<sup>2</sup>



The symbol of the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia.





Joint Casualty Resolution Center (JCRC) unofficial pocket patch.



BG Robert C. Kingston, a combat infantry veteran of Korea (7th Infantry Division and JACK [Joint Advisory Commission, Korea]) and former brigade commander, 1st Cavalry Division and Deputy Senior Advisor, II ARVN Corps and MR II in Vietnam, became the first commander of the Joint Casualty Resolution Center (JCRC) in 1973.

National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia (short title: National League of Families) that year. It quickly attracted popular support (most memorably by the sale of by-name Prisoner of War [POW]/MIA identification [ID] bracelets).<sup>4</sup> The National League of Families became the single greatest focal point between the American electorate and the Nixon administration.<sup>5</sup> The families were demanding answers.

Prompted by League of Family pressure on the Defense Department, PACOM, which had directed the military fight in South Vietnam, began creating JCRC to find, recover, identify, and repatriate more than 2,500 American military and civilians MIA in Southeast Asia (SEA).<sup>6</sup> The locations of the preponderance of unresolved losses differed by service: Air Force, Laos (363) and North Vietnam (358); Army (522) and Marine (217) MIAs and BNRs, South Vietnam; and Navy losses at sea (173) and over land (233--most in North Vietnam).<sup>7</sup> Improved forensics and DNA identification in the mid 1980s enabled medical pathologists and physical anthropologists to resolve MIA cases exponentially.<sup>8</sup> This new organization, JCRC, should not be confused with its wartime antecedent that had similar initials, the Joint Personnel Recovery Center (JPRC).

**JPRC**, formed 17 September 1966 by MACV, was assigned to SOG. Its mission was to coordinate the rescue of imprisoned, detained, escaped, and evading U.S. military and civilians and allied troops when air and ground search and rescue (SAR) efforts were ended in South and North Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and Thailand.<sup>9</sup> JPRC collected MIA information because the Communists would not identify the American POWs. "The *ad hoc* approach to formalization of the process in the early years was at best a patchwork fix for what became the most emotional aspect of the war," recalled Colonel (COL) William H. Jordan.<sup>10</sup> Two weeks before MACV disbanded SOG (April 1972), the ten assigned JPRC personnel and their MIA records were transferred to the Director of Intelligence, J-2.<sup>11</sup> As U.S. military units began withdrawing from South Vietnam, five people in the Joint Graves Registration Office, Saigon

were assigned to JPRC.<sup>12</sup> At the end of November 1972, JPRC (now up to sixty personnel) was provisionally called JCRC. Former emphasis on those possibly alive shifted to the dead after the POWs were released.<sup>13</sup> Less than a month later, PACOM authorized 110 personnel to raise the number of field recovery teams (FRT)\* to eleven.<sup>14</sup> By then, recruiting was going 'full bore' in Saigon.

In 1973, MAJ Paul Mather, the Army-trained PSYOP officer, was an engineer advisor in the Civil Operations and Rural Development Support (CORDS) program under MACV. CORDS was rebuilding rural security and confidence in the South Vietnamese government province by province. Facing curtailment of his second tour (no career credit) because of mandated military drawdowns, Mather volunteered for the JCRC PSYOP position. As that organization matured in a tenuous environment the Air Force major did more than PSYOP. He became the 'institutional memory' of JCRC. Based on experience spanning fifteen years, Paul Mather wrote the seminal book on the topic, *M.I.A.: Accounting for the Missing in Southeast Asia*, in 1994.<sup>15</sup>

Charged with resolving the status of America's 2,500 MIA and MIA/BNR, JCRC was activated on 28 January 1973 at Tan Son Nhut Air Base (VNAF [South Vietnamese Air Force]) by Brigadier General (BG) Robert C. Kingston. After being interviewed by BG Kingston, those accepted for assignment were transferred to Thailand.<sup>16</sup> The new joint element would be located on Nakhom Phanom (NKP) Royal Thai Air Force Base in northeast Thailand. The Joint Graves Registration Office and the U.S. Army Mortuary, Saigon (Tan Son Nhut Air Base), the U.S. Air Force Mortuary at Da Nang and the Central Identification Laboratory (CIL), were consolidated, renamed CIL/Thailand, placed under the operational control (OPCON) of JCRC, and moved to Camp Samae San on Utopai Royal Air Force Base, southeast of Bangkok.<sup>17</sup> CIL/THAI, led by Quartermaster (QMC) Lieutenant Colonel (LTC) Harold Tucker, became operational on 23 March 1973.<sup>18</sup> Both units were filled with personnel from the U.S. military, civil service, and contract employees slated to leave South Vietnam in accordance with the Paris Peace Accords.<sup>19</sup>

**\*Note:** To avoid confusion and provide clarity, field recovery team (FRT) will be used throughout.



# PARIS PEACE ACCORDS





The Viet Cong destroyed 220,000 barrels of fuel at the Nha Be petroleum storage facility ten miles downriver from Saigon during the night of 2-3 December 1973.



SF Captain (CPT) Richard M. Rees, JCRC FRT 6 (center) was killed on 15 December 1973 during a recovery mission in Gia Dinh province. On the left is SF Lieutenant Colonel (LTC) Sully de Fontaine, commander, Control Team B, two days before the unarmed JCRC team was ambushed.

While cross-checking information provided by South Vietnamese civilians with the MIA records in the JCRC database at NKP took time, the “public communication” efforts produced results. JCRC launched its first field recovery mission on 7 May 1973.<sup>32</sup> By September, eleven more field investigations had been accomplished. Twenty-one sets of remains were recovered; seven, positively identified as American; four, tentative. The Asian Mongoloid remains were presented to the South Vietnamese military for appropriate disposition. Personal ID items and serial numbered aircraft parts, found during the searches, furnished additional leads.<sup>33</sup> By late October, thirteen grave and crash sites had been inspected and thirty-one sets of remains had been recovered. In December 1973, with only seven crash and six grave sites remaining in areas of low threat dominated by ARVN, the risks of conducting humanitarian operations in contested war zones hit JCRC hard.<sup>34</sup>

Flushed by field recovery successes, BG Kingston supported investigations near Saigon to attract international media.<sup>35</sup> Despite VC sapper and rocket attacks on the Nha Be petroleum storage site (ten miles south of the capital on the Saigon River) during the night of 2-3 December 1973 that destroyed 220,000 barrels of oil and cloaked the Vietnamese capital with smoke for a week, the ARVN minimized the enemy threat. BG Kingston gave the JCRC Public Information Officer (PIO) operational lead in order to orchestrate press coverage.<sup>36</sup> Two JCRC FRTs (FRT 6 [CPT Richard M. Rees] and FRT 10 [CPT Albert C. Welch] having five men each) were to investigate two sites within twenty miles of Saigon. Two Air Force Explosive Ordnance Disposal (EOD) personnel and a photographer and six CIL/THAI personnel (all volunteers) were attached to the two FRTs.<sup>37</sup>

When one survey was cancelled after the JCRC contingent arrived from Thailand on 12 December, both teams were sent to the remaining site. CPT Rees, who was senior officer, took charge with FRT 10 in support. After two days of hosting press and dignitaries at the field site the routines of the nineteen unarmed Americans were well known in the area. Aircraft maintenance problems with a VNAF helicopter on the third day, 15 December, delayed movement of FRT 6 to the work site until late morning. FRT 10 was left waiting on the tarmac in the shadow of the Tan Son Nhut Airbase tower.<sup>38</sup>

As the three unarmed VNAF UH-1 ‘Huey’ helicopters, clad with prominently displayed orange recognition panels, began landing in trail formation, B-40 rocket, machinegun, and small arms fire hammered the first two aircraft. Facing this deluge of fire, most Americans with FRT 6 (CPT Rees) leaped from their helicopters to take cover behind the rice paddy dikes. The lead and trail aircraft broke out of the killing zone to escape. The second Huey, crippled by an exploding B-40 rocket and heavy machinegun fire, slid off the dike into the water-filled paddy, nose first.<sup>39</sup>

By the time a pair of VNAF Huey gunships arrived to force the VC withdrawal (thirty minutes later), CPT Rees was dead and four Americans wounded (First Lieutenant [1LT] Ben C. Elfrink, CIL/THAI, seriously) and one VNAF airmen was dead and three were wounded. At Tan Son Nhut Airbase,



# PSYOP Information &



Grammar school students proudly display their 'Year of the Tiger' *Giap Dan* (1974) version 2 calendar/notebooks.



Year of the Tiger *Giap Dan* (1974) calendar/notebooks were handed out to villagers who used the canals to ferry produce to market.

A young girl admires her 'Year of the Tiger' *Giap Dan* (1974) calendar/notebook (version 2).



# Solicitation Products



*"If you know the whereabouts of a grave, some human bones, or the location of a crashed airplane that you think is American, please report this immediately to the nearest authority."*

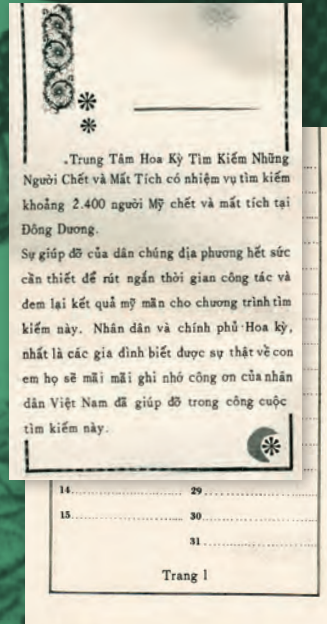
The stamp says: "Please leave a written note in Post Office Box 43. (translated by Patty Dung Garrett)"



The JCRC 'Question Mark' flyer was pasted on the wall of a grocery kiosk along a river bank.

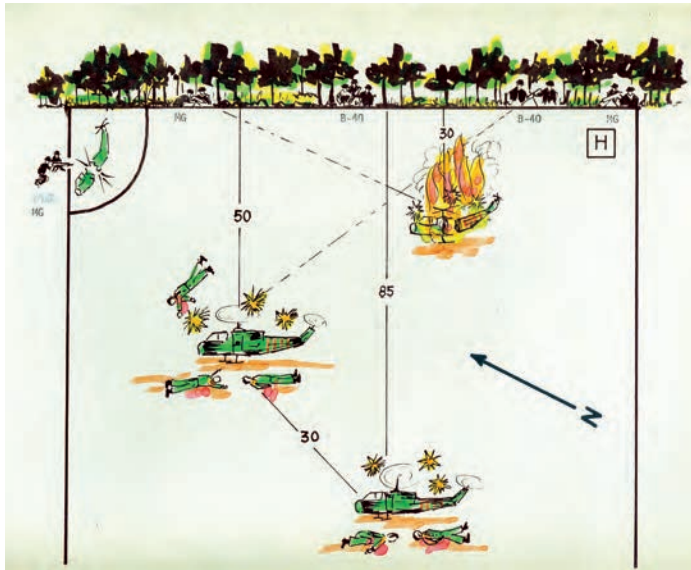


Cheap, Japanese made transistor radios enabled JCRC to widen their rural audience. Though notices were often sandwiched between programmed blocks of popular music, government announcements, and national news, they got the JCRC 'message' out.



This basic, pocket size, fold out appointment calendar was given to small business proprietors.





A draftsman-produced color illustration of the 15 December 1973 ambush incorrectly depicts four helicopters involved (three lift aircraft with a Command & Control [C&C] overhead in reality) and five dead (one U.S. and four VNAF) scattered away from the rocket-disabled Huey. (The reality was one VNAF KIA and three WIA in downed helicopter).



BG Joseph R. Ulatoski, a 5th Ranger Infantry Company and 8240th AU Korean War veteran, commanded a 25th Infantry Division (ID) brigade task force during the Cambodian incursion, May-June 1970. BG Ulatoski presented the Purple Heart to 1LT Ben C. Elfrink [WIA 15 December 1973] at Camp Samae San, Thailand. Standing to the right is CIL/THAI commander, QMC LTC Clarke.

CPT Welch and FRT 10 listened to radio reports as the tragedy unfolded.<sup>40</sup> Ambassador Graham A. Martin gave a 'severe jolt' to JCRC operations, when he shut down activities in South Vietnam.<sup>41</sup> In retrospect, it was naive for U.S. military, as a former major combatant, to believe that it could conduct 'peaceful' humanitarian operations in a hotly contested war zone. Reliance on ARVN intelligence assessments after the major attack on Nha Be two weeks earlier cast aspersions on BG Kingston. Having situational awareness in South Vietnam became critical to his successor.<sup>42</sup>

Nearly two months after BG Kingston's December 1973 departure, promotable COL Joseph R. Ulatoski, frocked to BG in the Pentagon for the JCRC assignment, got to Thailand. Awaiting him was a summons from Ambassador Martin in Saigon. Guidance from Admiral James O. Richardson, the Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Pacific Command, Hawaii, during his stopover enroute to Thailand had been simply, "Do good and keep PACOM informed."<sup>43</sup>

As soon as Ulatoski entered Ambassador Martin's office he informed the jet-lagged brigadier: "JCRC was forbidden to do casualty resolutions in Vietnam unless I could guarantee that there would be no more U.S. casualties. Recovery operations were to be done by the ARVN forces. But, our 'rewards for information' program was still okay," remembered Ulatoski. "A good talk afterwards with Al (Albert A.) Francis, the embassy's PolMil officer, 'who had the ambassador's ear,' proved most helpful."<sup>44</sup> But, issues at JCRC awaited him.

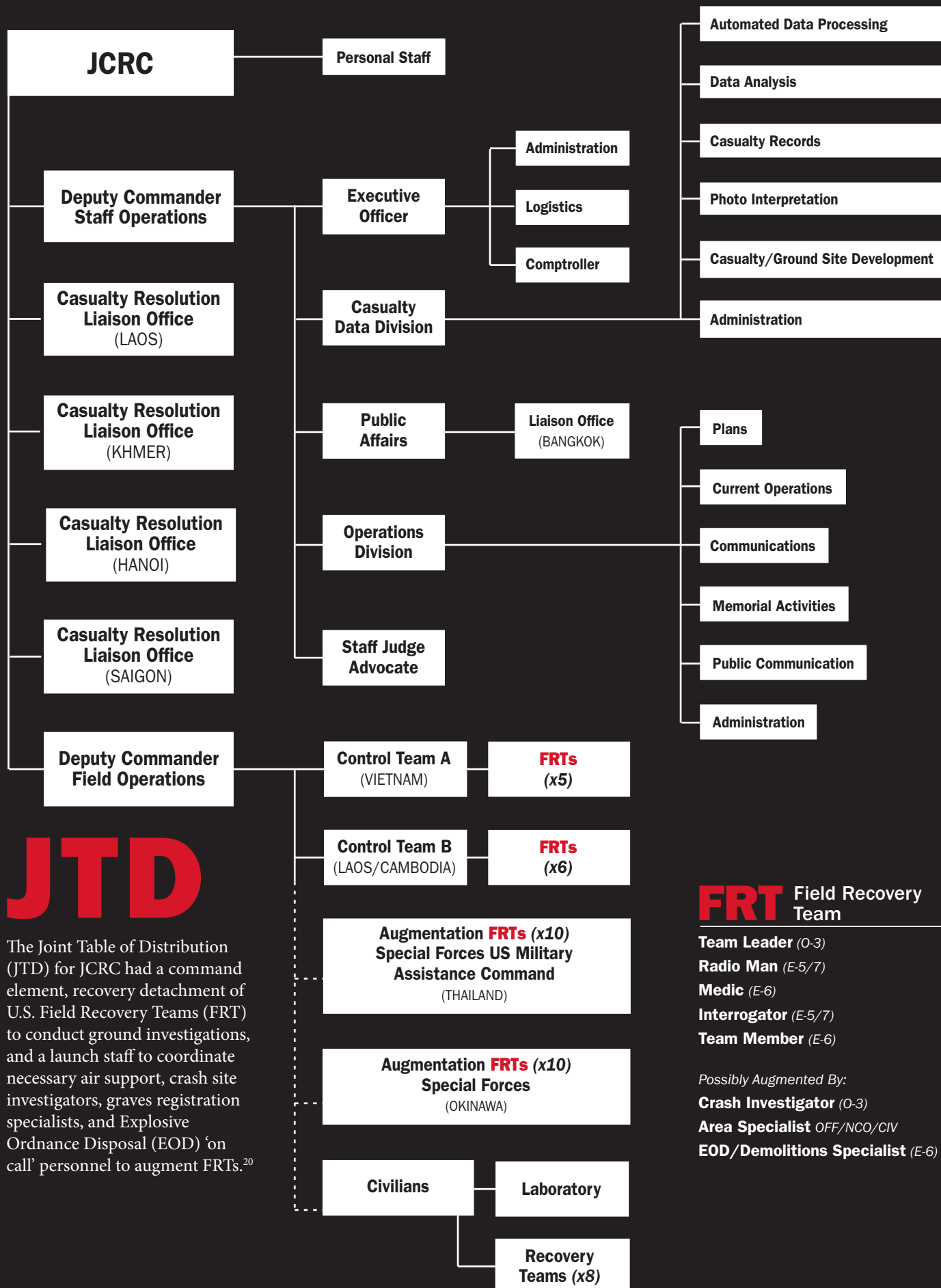
After a two month period without an assigned commander and with no prospect on the horizon for engaging in what they had volunteered for, morale, particularly on the SF-manned FRTs, was low. Some disciplinary problems had to be handled by BG Ulatoski. Then, he could address operational issues throughout Southeast Asia. Since Vietnam

had the most MIA, restoring confidence in the Embassy became his priority focus.<sup>45</sup>

Situational awareness in the war zone had to be regained and the ambassador had to be made comfortable with JCRC. The embassy staff and supporting agencies, especially USAID, had to be involved. MIA resolution was an emotional topic among Americans at home and had garnered considerable Congressional interest. To expand JCRC visibility more emphasis was placed on open PSYOP product solicitations, rewards for information, and establishing liaison offices in the U.S. Consulates in the four military regions (MR) to reduce the burden on small State Department field staffs. "Al Francis saw the benefits for the embassy, particularly with USAID. As these initiatives proved fruitful and were reinforced by field reports Ambassador Martin became comfortable with 'new' methods of operation by JCRC and relaxed constraints. Search and recovery regained some momentum. Our physical presence in the cities beyond Saigon provided us with 'ground truth' on combat conditions in the MRs. Thirty-one casualty resolution operations/activities were conducted, including a mission to Hanoi to recovery the remains of twenty-three American servicemen," said the general.<sup>46</sup>

When slow personnel backfills threatened to delay formation of a regional office in Da Nang, COL Farnham sent MAJ Mather north in early 1974 to serve as the interim JCRC Desk Officer in the consulate.<sup>47</sup> This temporary assignment allowed the "public communications link" of JCRC to participate in the full circle of a JCRC recovery—from start to finish. He was filling in for a civilian delayed in the hiring process. Assignment of experienced, mature Army SF captains as MR Operations Officers was phase two of BG Ulatoski's plan.<sup>48</sup>





# JTD

The Joint Table of Distribution (JTD) for JCRC had a command element, recovery detachment of U.S. Field Recovery Teams (FRT) to conduct ground investigations, and a launch staff to coordinate necessary air support, crash site investigators, graves registration specialists, and Explosive Ordnance Disposal (EOD) 'on call' personnel to augment FRTs.<sup>20</sup>

## **FRT** Field Recovery Team

**Team Leader** (O-3)

**Radio Man** (E-5/7)

**Medic** (E-6)

**Interrogator** (E-5/7)

**Team Member** (E-6)

*Possibly Augmented By:*

**Crash Investigator** (O-3)

**Area Specialist** OFF/NCO/CIV

**EOD/Demolitions Specialist** (E-6)



**What** follows are examples of the complete MIA recovery process involving MAJ Mather during his six months at Da Nang in the spring and summer of 1974. The initial step, information solicitations to the Vietnamese peasantry to help identify aircraft crash and burial sites, led to cross-checking responses with 'stubby pencil' MIA records (being automated with key punch cards). Then, physical recovery of the remains could be arranged. Afterwards, the remains were shipped to the Samae San laboratory for conclusive identification. Confirmed CIL/THAI identifications led to official notifications of families before repatriation and final burial in the United States.<sup>50</sup>

"One of our 'rewards for information' leaflets prompted a woodcutter to come to the Da Nang consulate. When he told the guards about finding a crashed airplane in the densely wooded mountains north of the city, they brought him to my office," said Mather. "Although I had reported crash sites marked on 1/50,000 maps for MR IV as well as the latest readout of the JCRC computer-based master registry, I could find no crash site around the Hai Van Pass that connected Hue and Da Nang."<sup>51</sup>



The six-seat Cessna 185E Skywagon, was designated a utility aircraft and classified U-17A by the South Vietnamese Air Force (VNAF).

"But, the woodcutter was adamant. I took a chance and pulled out our *Polaroid* (camera). My secretary/interpreter, Ms. Du Bich Ha, gave him a very simple class on how to take pictures with it. We let him use the remaining film, critiquing his focus, emphasizing that each photo had to fully develop before taking another, and then showed him how to preserve the image by using a bar wipe to apply a protective coating. Although illiterate, the forester learned and understood that good photos were key to proving his claim...and some money. I reloaded the *Polaroid* with a new 'twelve shot' film pack and he left. Frankly, I thought I had seen the last of him because a *Polaroid* 'instant' camera was very marketable," chuckled Mather.<sup>52</sup>

"About ten days later, the woodcutter reappeared. He had the camera, some photos, and two VNAF identification cards. In one photo the tail number of the crashed airplane, XT14502, was 'clear as a bell' and the typed data on the plastic-covered ID cards was readable. We now had hard evidence to check with the list of missing allied aircraft, airmen, and passengers," said MAJ Mather. "I was very excited with the prospect of finding someone."<sup>53</sup>

The Da Nang Desk Officer telephoned the Saigon Liaison Office to solicit help in identifying the airplane, its parent unit, occupants, and to determine when it went missing. MAJ Mather briefed the MR I Consul General, Mr. Paul Popple, and deputy, Ms. Theresa A. Tull, on the crash discovery. They emphasized that the South Vietnamese military were responsible for field recoveries outside the province capitals. They were fully aware that Ambassador Martin had restricted JCRC after SF Captain Rees, FRT 6, was killed 15 December 1973 in the midst of a recovery mission twelve miles southwest of Saigon.<sup>54</sup> Mather's role would be an administrative supporting one.

The JCRC desk officer had to be satisfied with researching the database, arranging the recovery mission with the local



The VNAF U-17A crashed less than a kilometer inland and about 3 kilometers from the Hai Van Pass. (Original Map with crash site marked.)



ARVN and the Two Party Joint Military Team stationed in Da Nang, getting mortuary support from CIL-Thailand, and paying the reward if the recovery proved successful.<sup>55</sup> XT14502 was discovered to be the tail number of a six-seat, high-wing VNAF U-17A propeller airplane weighing 3,200 pounds. It was one of eighty *Cessna 185 Skywagons* purchased by the U.S. Air Force with Military Assistance Program (MAP) funds.<sup>56</sup>

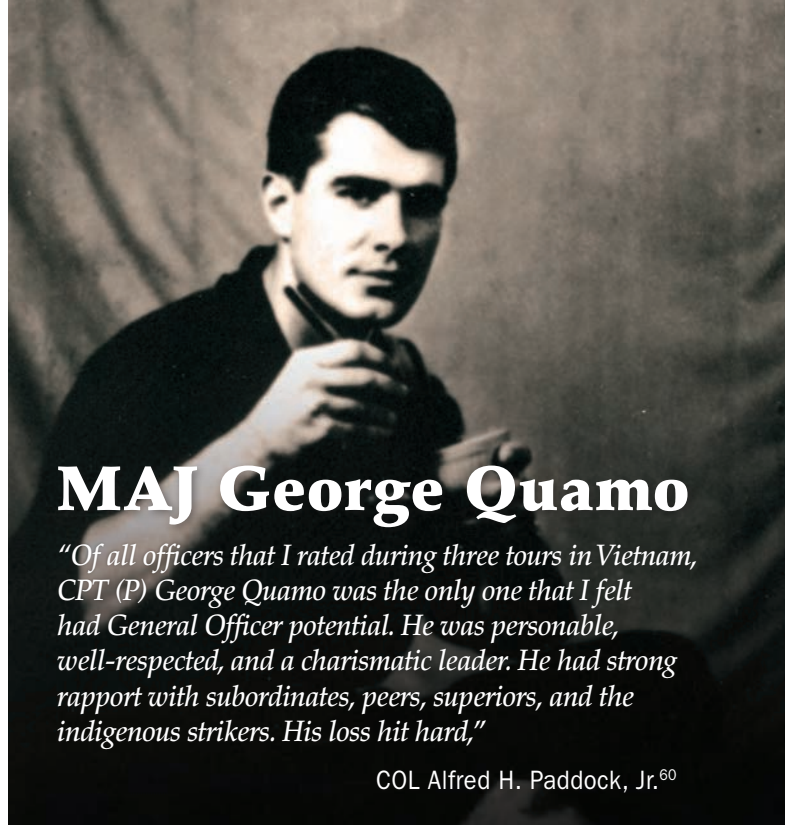
The U-17A belonged to the VNAF 1<sup>st</sup> Air Force Division, 41<sup>st</sup> Air Wing (Da Nang), 110<sup>th</sup> Air Squadron. The airplane was returning to Da Nang from Khe Sanh on 14 April 1968 when it went missing. The pilot, Lieutenant (LT) Nguyen Van Nhan, was transporting two passengers: a VNAF civilian, Nguyen Ngoc Hanh, and SF MAJ George Quamo, deputy commander, Forward Operating Base 3 (FOB 3), CCN (Command & Control North), MACV, SOG. Because the last radar contact with XT14502 was east of Da Nang out over the ocean, the VNAF presumed that XT14502 crashed in the water.<sup>57</sup>

The Vietnamese military recovered the remains of MAJ George Quamo and the two VNAF personnel in late June 1974. The U-17A crash site (161226N 1080927E), was just 700 meters inland from the sea on the Bai Chu-oi peninsula and three kilometers away from the Hai Van Pass highway. Mr. Charles P. Warren, a CIL/THAI physical anthropologist, separated Caucasian from Asian Mongoloid bones at the Da Nang mortuary to speed up identification. MAJ Mather participated in the repatriation ceremony conducted by the ARVN military at the Da Nang Airfield on 28 June 1974. The Caucasian remains were flown to Saigon and then to Camp Samae San. On 15 August 1974 they were positively identified as those of Maj Quamo. Mather had returned to Saigon a month earlier because the civilian desk officer, Mr. John G. Rogers, had arrived.<sup>61</sup>

Completing the MIA resolution circle, Mr. Rogers, a former Army Mortuary, Saigon employee, paid the reward to the woodcutter. Phan Heong, a local high school student who helped with the recovery, 'capped' the ARVN honors ceremony with a letter of condolence to the Quamo family to "share their sadness" and appreciation for his sacrifice while protecting South Vietnam from Communism and for preserving their democratic way of life. The original, written in Vietnamese, and the English translation were mailed to his brother, James, by the MR I JCRC Desk Officer.<sup>62</sup> "Locating, recovering, identifying, and repatriating the remains of MAJ Quamo clearly showed that the American MIA resolution system worked," commented retired Major General (MG) Thomas F. Needham, commander of Joint Task Force-Full Accounting (JTF-FA), January 1992 to July 1994.<sup>63</sup>

Appropriately, SF Major George Quamo, DSC, with his family present, was interred in Arlington National Cemetery with full military honors on 21 October 1974.<sup>64</sup> MAJ Quamo's military decorations were presented at a special awards ceremony conducted at the Goodman Street Armory, Rochester, New York, on 6 August 1975.<sup>65</sup> Back in South Vietnam, two unplanned field recoveries in MR I by JCRC produced results.

During the Tet Offensive of 1968, the NVA massacred thousands of citizens in Hue, the former imperial capital.



## MAJ George Quamo

*"Of all officers that I rated during three tours in Vietnam, CPT (P) George Quamo was the only one that I felt had General Officer potential. He was personable, well-respected, and a charismatic leader. He had strong rapport with subordinates, peers, superiors, and the indigenous strikers. His loss hit hard,"*

COL Alfred H. Paddock, Jr.<sup>60</sup>

**DOB:** 20 June 1940.

**POB:** Lynn, MA.

**Family:** Alexander & Kaliroi Quamo (Albania). Oldest of two sons and four daughters.

**HS:** Averill Park (Rensselaer County), NY, June 1958.

**23 Oct 1958:** BPED; BCT, B Troop, 1st Reconnaissance Squadron, 15th Cavalry.

**1958-1959:** SP5, Infantry AIT, C Troop, 1st Recon Squadron, 15th Cavalry, Ft Hood, TX.

**1959-1960:** Infantry OCS, Airborne, Ranger, Ft Benning, GA. Infantry Rifle Plt Ldr, E Co, 1st BG 5th Infantry.

**1960-1962:** Rifle Co XO, C Co & Co Cdr, E Co, 1st ID, Ft Riley, KS.

**1962:** MATA Course 1-63, Ft Bragg, NC, followed by DLI (Vietnamese & Laotian).

**Oct 1962-Oct 1963:**

Tng Advisor & Asst Bn Advisor, 3rd Bn, 33rd Regt, 21st ID, ARVN, III Corps, RVN.

**Oct 1963-July 1964:**

A Co XO, 7th SFG & Special Warfare Staff Officers Course, Ft Bragg, NC, XO, Det A-31 & Cdr, Det A-32 TDY RVN.

**Oct 1964-Jul 1966:**

DLI (Thai) & Infantry Officer Advanced Course, Ft Benning, GA.

**Jul 1966-Jun 1967:** S-1, B-210, 1st SFG, Inf Advisor, Royal Thai Regt (TDY Thailand), Gp S-3 Tng, 1st SFG, Okinawa.

**Jun 1967-14 Apr 1968:**

(MIA, BNR), XO A-401, CCN, MACV-SOG, RVN.

**Decorations:** DSC (P), 2SS; LOM; 2BSV, AM, 2 ACM, PH (P).<sup>58</sup>

*MAJ Quamo led the CCN relief force to rescue the survivors of multiple NVA task force assaults (sapper-infantry-tanks) on the Lang Vei SF Camp during the night of 7-8 February 1968. He controlled air support and ground defenses that broke up several counterattacks designed to annihilate the assembled group and disrupt aero medical evacuations.<sup>59</sup>*





Supported by artillery, naval gunfire, and airstrikes, it took almost three months for American and Vietnamese Marines and Army forces to drive the Communists from the city. In the summer of 1974, the Vietnamese requested JCRC assistance as they exhumed the mass grave sites of 1968.<sup>66</sup>

Given the relative security of Hue, the ambassador approved the temporary commitment of JCRC and CIL/THAI personnel. Before the field recovery teams arrived, Hue was blanketed with JCRC posters requesting assistance. When the combined teams arrived, local citizens came forward with information on two MIA: an American civilian and a U.S. soldier.<sup>67</sup>

While the CIL/THAI technicians assisted the Vietnamese with the exhumations of mass graves in the Hue citadel, the SF FRTs interviewed claimants. The first recovery occurred on 8 August 1974 nearly 30 kilometers northwest of Hue.



JCRC Regional Liaison Offices		
Military Region	Desk Officer	Operations Officer
MR I	MAJ Paul D. Mather Mr. John G. Rogers	CPT Rodger Urbaniak
MR II	Mr. Maurice J. Healy	CPT Roger Schjeldahl
MR III	Mr. Marvin Shelton Mr. William Hunt	CPT George Petrie
MR IV	Mr. James E. Tully	CPT Paul P. Mendes <sup>49</sup>

A grave site was confirmed by the Vietnamese interpreter accompanying the SF FRTs. Specialist Four (SP4) Valentine B. Vollmer, died on 16 February 1968, two days after his twentieth birthday. The young paratrooper was a rifleman in A Company, 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion, 502<sup>nd</sup> Infantry, 101<sup>st</sup> Airborne Division fighting to take Hue away from the Communists. CIL/THAI positively identified the Wisconsin native's remains on 23 March 1976.<sup>68</sup> The second recovery, a U.S. government civilian, had become a casualty early in Tet 1968.

Mr. Steven A. Haukness, a U.S. Information Agency (USIA) communicator from South Dakota, was assigned to Da Nang. He decided to take a short holiday with a colleague in Hue during Tet. His USIA friend, Steve Miller, was executed on 31 January 1968 shortly after being captured. Trying to escape the same fate Haukness was shot when he bolted away from the NVA captors. He collapsed and died in the small front courtyard of a Catholic priest's quarters. He was buried by the parochial high school teacher after the NVA gave him permission. The Catholic prelate simply showed the JCRC team where to dig. Caucasian remains were recovered on 16 August 1974. The CIL/THAI laboratory positively identified them as belonging to Haukness on 23 March 1975.<sup>69</sup>

The ARVN were extremely gracious to support JCRC field recoveries while fighting the four NVA divisions advancing



Mr. Steven A. Haukness, a U.S. Information Agency (USIA) communicator from Da Nang, was killed in Hue by NVA forces on 31 January 1968.



SP4 Valentine B. Vollmer, A Company, 1st Battalion, 502nd Infantry, 101st Airborne Division, KIA, Hue, South Vietnam, 16 February 1968





further south each day. While the U.S. had agreed to a ceasefire beginning 28 January 1973 and troop withdrawals by the end of the year, the North Vietnamese did not, and occupied abandoned American military bases, sharing control of the areas with the VC. U.S. military assistance to South Vietnam went ‘full bore’ until the Paris Peace Accords were signed. Despite monitoring of the ‘ceasefire’ by military observers from two Western and two Communist nations, NVA forces pushed further into the South. After the death of SF CPT Richard Rees in December 1973, MIA recovery operations in South Vietnam were almost all done by ARVN.

**Vietnam** was our longest war before GWOT. But more significantly, for the first time in our history, the families of the U.S. POWs and MIA formed a strong league to make Americans aware of the situation during the war. Their ‘voice’ became strident when President Richard M. Nixon advocated unilateral withdrawal from Vietnam like President Dwight D. Eisenhower had done during the Korean War. Nixon pledged “Peace with Honor” in his attempt to regain support from a society that was being ripped apart by deep racial unrest, rampant anti-war protests, urban terrorism, and anti-establishment movements. The Communists, as they did during Korea, played upon these domestic issues to control the peace process while DOD struggled to satisfy concerns of the Vietnam POW and MIA families with a well-resourced JCRC.<sup>70</sup>

The PSYOP information solicitation campaign was always the key to JCRC recovery successes. The regional desk officers in the four consulates served to provide a visible JCRC presence in this predominantly rural country. It made information transfer much simpler and personal. The peasant population was more apt to talk directly to an American. This reduced ‘sharing’ (rewards) with local officials—a cultural norm. Focusing on the rural audience was correct. Grammar school language in posters and calendar-notebooks was appropriate. Value added of having American JCRC personnel in the MRs was demonstrated by the MAJ George Quamo and two Hue recoveries in 1974. North Vietnam (today’s Socialist Republic of Vietnam [SRV]) has controlled MIA resolution since the United States government initiated unilateral peace negotiations more than thirty years ago. That situation delayed postwar ‘healing’ for Americans, but the relentless work of MAJ Paul Mather and Army LTC Joe B. Harvey spanning fifteen years developed the MIA recovery protocols used to this day. They are the ‘unsung heroes’ of JCRC.<sup>71</sup> ▲

**CHARLES H. BRISCOE, PhD**

Charles H. Briscoe has been the USASOC Command Historian since 2000. A graduate of The Citadel, this retired Army special operations officer earned his PhD from the University of South Carolina. Current research interests include Army special operations in Latin America, POW Recovery, and the Lodge Act.

*Special thanks goes to Patty Dung Garrett, my Vietnamese translator of the JCRC PSYOP information solicitation products, Texas Aggie LTC Joe B. Harvey, COL William E. Jordan, the former JCRC and JTF-Full Accounting personnel who reviewed this article, and especially LTC Paul D. Mather, whose collection of JCRC documentation brought ‘real life’ to this article.*



On 8 August 1974 Army of Vietnam (ARVN) soldiers carried the possible remains of SP/4 Valentine B. Vollmer, A Co, 1st Bn, 502nd Infantry, 101st Airborne Division (KIA 16 February 1968) to an Air America UH 1D Huey helicopter for positive identification at Central Identification Laboratory, Samae San, Thailand (CILTHAI).



## Endnotes

- 1 Department of Defense (DOD). HQ, Commander-in-Chief Pacific (CINCPAC). History of the U.S. Support Activities Group, 15 February – 31 March 1973 (MSgt Frank M. Whitacre), Chapter VI: Joint Casualty Resolution Center, 108-109, hereafter cited as USSAG Command History with dates; CINCPAC: Command History, 1973, Vol. I: 216 hereafter cited as CINCPAC Command History with appropriate volume and pages; Paul D. Mather, M.I.A.: *Accounting for the Missing in Southeast Asia* (Washington, DC: National Defense University, 1994), 10-11.
- 2 Retired Air Force LTC Paul D. Mather, interview by Dr. Charles H. Briscoe, 25 June 2014, USASOC History Office Classified Files, Fort Bragg, NC, hereafter cited by name and date.
- 3 Walter Scott Dillard, *Sixty Days to Peace: Implementing the Paris Peace Accords, Vietnam 1973* (Washington, DC: National Defense University, 1982), 175; LTC William H. Jordan, "Americans Missing in Southeast Asia: Perceptions, Politics, and Realities," Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College Studies Paper, 1990:33 hereafter cited by author and short title.
- 4 Sybil Stockdale, wife of prisoner of war (POW) Navy Commander James B. Stockdale shot down on 9 September 1965, was determined to make the American people aware of the mistreatment of U.S. POWs and to improve U.S. policies concerning the treatment of and handling of POW families. She organized a group of POW/MIA wives in Coronado, California. Evelyn Grubb and Mary Crowe followed suit in Hampton, Virginia, in 1967 to press federal officials for more information. The League was incorporated in Washington, D.C. on 28 May 1970. "National League of POW/MIA Families" at <http://www.pow-miafamilies.org/about-the-league>, accessed 1/22/2015
- 5 Jordan, "Americans Missing in Southeast Asia," 33.
- 6 USSAG Command History, 15 February – 31 March 1973, Chapter VI: JCRC, 108-109; CINCPAC Command History, 1973, Vol. I: 216; Mather, M.I.A., 10-11.
- 7 Department of the Air Force. HQ, Pacific Air Forces. Office of History. Project CHECO (Contemporary Historical Examination of Current Operations): Joint Personnel Recovery in Southeast Asia, 1 September 1976, 3, hereafter cited as Project CHECO: JPR in SEA.
- 8 Jordan, "Americans Missing in Southeast Asia, 5.
- 9 U.S. Military Assistance Command, Vietnam (MACV), Command History, January 1972-March 1973, Vol. II: G-5, hereafter cited as MACV Command History with date, volume, and pages; CINCPAC Command History, 1973, Vol. I: 218; Jordan, "Americans Missing in Southeast Asia, 12; Project CHECO: JPR in SEA, 7. BRIGHT LIGHT was resurrected in May 1973 as the unclassified codename for the JCRC data file and the active collection and transmission of information concerning U.S. and allied personnel in Prisoner of War (POW), missing in action (MIA), and deceased (body not recovered [BNR]) status, POW camps, aircraft crash sites, and grave sites. JCRC submitted a weekly status report to arrive at CINCPAC on Mondays. CINCPAC Command History, 1973, Vol. I: 218, 220. A thorough review of transferred JPRC ADP material by JCRC revealed large-scale deficiencies in both content and arrangement. Project CHECO: JPR in SEA, 10, 11; Retired BG Joseph R. Ulatoski, interview by Briscoe, 18 August 2014, USASOC History Office Classified Files, Fort Bragg, NC, hereafter cited by name and date.
- 10 Jordan, "Americans Missing in Southeast Asia, 2. Armor LTC William H. Jordan served as Deputy Commander, JCRC from July 1987 to July 1989 and as a colonel commanded the Central Identification Laboratory, Hawaii, supporting Joint Task Force - Full Accounting (JTF-FA), 1994-1996. Jordan, interviews by Briscoe, 4 and 12 November 2013, USASOC History Office Classified Files, Fort Bragg, NC, hereafter cited by name and date.
- 11 MACV Command History, January 1972-March 1973, Vol. II: G-5; Joint Personnel Recovery Center (JPRC) File, Records of U.S. Military Assistance Command, Vietnam (MACV), Part I, Reel 20, Directorate of Intelligence, "Joint Personnel Recovery Center" dated 11 December 1972, hereafter cited as JCRC File, MACV with appropriate part and reel.
- 12 MACV Command History, January 1972-March 1973, Vol. II: G-7.
- 13 Project CHECO: JPR in SEA, 13, 14.
- 14 JCRC File, MACV, Part I, Reel 20; CINCPAC Command History, 1973, Vol. I: 215, 212, 216. In 1973, CINCPAC plans and activities associated with the recovery of U.S. and other allied personnel were in several programs: HOMECOMING, the return of U.S. POWs from North Vietnam; CONPLAN 5100, contingency employment of U.S. ground, air, and naval forces for personnel recovery (PR) operations in Southeast Asia (SEA), and for the encouragement and support of friendly indigenous military forces for PR operations in their respective countries (FREEDOM FERRY); and CONPLAN 5119 (VALOR HOME) on casualty resolution, which provided for the location, recovery, identification, and evacuation of remains of deceased body-not-recovered U.S. personnel and the resolution of the status of missing U.S. personnel. CINCPAC Command History, 1973, Vol. I: 212, 216; MACV Command History, January 1972-March 1973, Vol. II: G-8.
- 15 Mather interview, 25 June 2014.
- 16 USSAG History, 15 February – 31 March 1973, Chapter VI: JCRC, 108-109; CINCPAC Command History, 1973, Vol. I: 216; Mather, M.I.A., 10-11; Project CHECO: JPR in SEA, 19. When the Americans left South Vietnam, Tan Son Nhut Air Force Base was turned over to the South Vietnamese Air Force (VNAF) and the site became Tan Son Nhut Air Base.
- 17 CINCPAC Command History, 1973, Vol. I: 216-217; Jordan, "Americans Missing in Southeast Asia, 13. Under U.S. Pacific Command (PACOM) Contingency Plan (CONPLAN) 5119, Nakhon Phanom (NKP) was selected as future home of JCRC. Project CHECO: JPR in SEA, 17, 18.
- 18 USSAG Command History, 15 February – 31 March 1973, Chapter VI: 125. Grave registration is a function of the Army Quartermaster Corps (QM). Hence CIL/THAI was commanded by a QM lieutenant colonel.
- 19 Mather interview, 6 October 2014; MACV Command History, January 1972-March 1973, Vol. II: G-7; CINCPAC Command History, 1973, Vol. I: 217. Approximately 70 percent of the JCRC manning came from MACV resources. USSAG Command History, 15 February – 31 March 1973, Chapter VI: 115; Project CHECO: JPR in SEA, 19.
- 20 CINCPAC Command History, 1973, Vol. I: 217, 218.
- 21 Dillard, *Sixty Days to Peace*, 175.
- 22 Project CHECO: JPR in SEA, 5.
- 23 The wartime U.S. Military Assistance Command, Vietnam (MACV) headquarters, staff billeting, exchange, clubs, and recreational facilities on Tan Son Nhut Air Force Base provided ample office space and quarters for the Defense Attaché Office, Saigon, the Joint Casualty Resolution Center (JCRC) Liaison Office, the Vietnamese Army (ARVN) Liaison Office, Four Party Joint Military Team (FPJMT), and the International Commission for Control and Supervision (ICCS). Co-location of these disparate groups on Tan Son Nhut did not intimate close coordination nor cooperation. Office of the President of the U.S. *Protocol to the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet-Nam: Concerning The Cease-Fire in South Viet-Nam and the Joint Military Commissions*, Articles 2-17: 104-118, 27 January 1973 (Saigon: United States Information Service, 1973).
- 24 LTC Karl P. Piotrowski, "Negotiating with the Enemy," *Air University Review*, September-October 1977, 3; Mather, M.I.A., 8-9; Mather interview, 6 October 2014.
- 25 As a tenant unit the JCRC Liaison Office personnel counted against the DAO, Saigon personnel 'cap' of fifty U.S. military personnel. DAO, Saigon continued the former Military Assistance Command, Vietnam (MACV) mission to train, equip, and resupply the South Vietnamese military forces, according to MAJ Paul Mather. Mather interviews, 20, 25 and 30 June and 6 October 2014; Project CHECO: JPR in SEA, 26.
- 26 USSAG Command History, 1 April – 30 June 1973, Chapter VI: 152-153.
- 27 MACV Command History, January 1972-March 1973, Vol. II: G-6; Project CHECO: JPR in SEA, 8, 9.
- 28 The Media Development Element (MDE) was the forward-based element of 7<sup>th</sup> PSYOP Group (POG). The 7<sup>th</sup> POG, having the strategic PSYOP mission for U.S. Pacific Command (PACOM), covered Southeast Asia (SEA) during the war in Vietnam. It was stationed in Okinawa. U.S. Army Pacific (USARPAC) gave 7<sup>th</sup> POG \$1.5 million dollars to support JCRC. Mather interview, 6 October 2014; USSAG Command Histories: 15 February – 31 March 1973, Chapter VI: 111, Figure 28 and 1 April – 30 June 1973, Chapter VI: 156; Project CHECO: JPR in SEA, 41. The JPRC Leaflet and Reward Programs, against the wishes of Ambassador Graham A. Martin, were continued. The payments for Vietnamese were almost double that paid to Laotians. JCRC determined the value of the information furnished and/or assistance given and directed payment of rewards. Whenever possible, the payment was given maximum publicity except that which led to the recovery of Americans. This was done to reduce 'bone' scams. American and South Vietnamese military were not eligible for rewards. MACV Command History, January 1972-March 1973, Vol. II: G-6, Figure G-2.
- 29 Mather interview, 6 October 2014. USSAG Command Histories: 15 February – 31 March 1973, Chapter VI: 111, Figure 28 and 1 April – 30 June 1973, Chapter VI: 156; MACV Command History, January 1972-March 1973, Vol. II: G-6, Figure G-2.
- 30 Mather interviews, 6 and 30 June 2014; Chris Peterson, "Remains," *Reuters News Service*, Binh Chanh, South Vietnam, 19 December 1973.
- 31 Mather interviews, 6 October 2014 and 7 January 2015. On 13 October 1973, BG Kingston vented his frustration about Embassy restraints on the JCRC publicity program. He said that the low profile approach denied opportunities to solicit information on perishable grave and crash sites. It was May 1974 before the Ministry of Communications responded to a U.S. Information Service (USIS) request to assist JCRC with country-wide radio and television spot announcements. Project CHECO: JPR in SEA, 42, 43. Since the U.S. Army Counter Insurgency Support Office (CISO) on Okinawa had supplied 'throwaway' transistor radios to the Joint Personnel Recovery Command (JPRC), Special Operations Group (SOG), MACV during the war, it had sources available. CISO supported JCRC until 1976. Retired DAC Conrad B. Baker, interview by Briscoe, USASOC History Office Classified Files, Fort Bragg, NC, hereafter cited by name and date.
- 32 Former CPT John M. McClellan, interview by Briscoe, 8 September 2014, USASOC History Office Classified Files, Fort Bragg, NC, hereafter cited by name and date.
- 33 CINCPAC Command History, 1973, Vol. I: 224; Mather M.I.A., 14.
- 34 Project CHECO: JPR in SEA, 60.
- 35 Project CHECO: JPR in SEA, 72, 73, 79.
- 36 Retired USMC COL Richard H. Esau, interviews by Briscoe, 30 April and 6 May 2014, USASOC History Office Classified Files, Fort Bragg, NC, hereafter cited by name and date.
- 37 Retired LTC Albert C. Welch, interviews by Briscoe, 16 and 29 April 2014, USASOC History Office Classified Files, Fort Bragg, NC, hereafter cited by name and date. Field Team Recovery (FRT) 6 consisted of CPT Richard M. Rees, SSGs Allen D. Weicksel, Peter A. Holmberg, and Edgar L. Blakemore and SGT Herman C. Ballard. The members of FRT 10 were CPT Albert C. Welch, SSGs Stephen L. Chaffins and Richard Reiman, SGT Lloyd S. Kayser, and SP4 Paul J. Stoskus. Attached to the FRTs were two Air Force EOD (Explosive Ordnance Demolition) S/SGTs Richard B. Burman and Robert L. Diekman, and six personnel from CIL/THAI. All were volunteers: 1LT Ben C. Ellfrink, SFC Frank Cade, SSGs John Boyd and Ronnie L. Watson, and SGTs J. Crauswell and Randall J. Nash. Personal records, LTC Albert C. Welch.
- 38 Welch interview, 29 April 2014.
- 39 Welch interview, 29 April 2014.
- 40 Ten members of Control Team (CT) B had gone to Saigon to support the operation. MAJ Richard E. Laritz, the CT B operations officer, was in charge 12-15 December. LTC Sully A. De Fontaine, there initially, returned to Saigon on 15 December after the incident. Welch interview, 29 April 2014; Retired COL Larry A. Redmond (JCRC) email to Briscoe, 2 June 2014, USASOC History Office Classified Files, Fort Bragg, NC. SF CPT Richard M. Rees was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross posthumously on 2 December 1975 (Department of Army General Order No. 24). How two other JCRC personnel (MAJ) Richard E. Laritz [DA GO No. 56 dated 31 December 1974] and SSG Allen D. Weicksel [DA GO No. 51 dated 25 October 1974] and one dead and three wounded VNAF helicopter crewman (Nguyen Nam, Than Van Hien, Tan Khai Tri, and Ha Van Nung [DA GO No. 10 dated 2 April 1975] were awarded Silver Star medals for the same action remains unknown. BG Kingston was gone. BG Ulatoski only recommended a DSC for Rees. He decided that the most appropriate award for others involved was the Joint Service Commendation Medal (JSCM). Silver Star approval

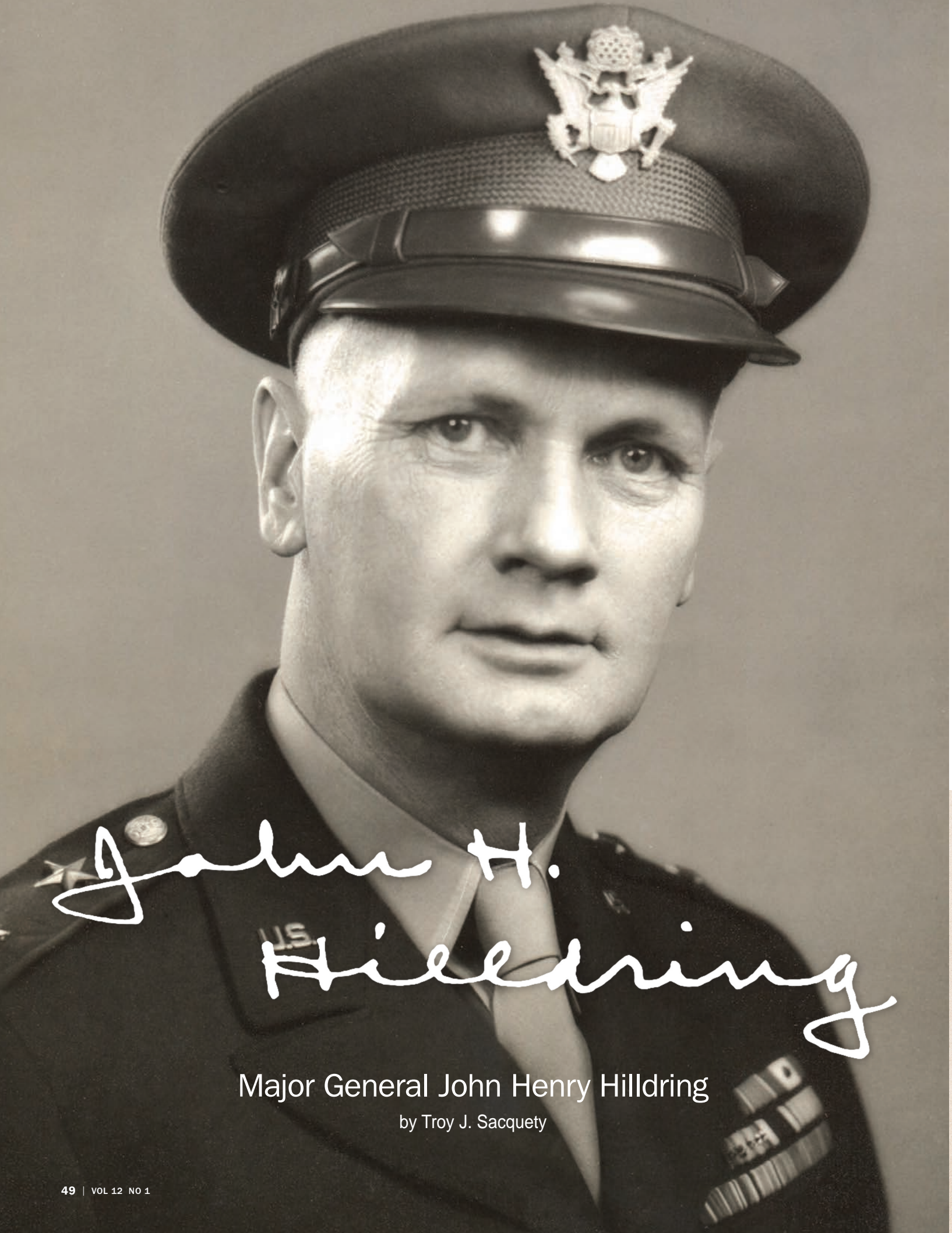




The possible remains of SF MAJ George Quamo were loaded aboard an Air America C 46 at Da Nang Airfield on 28 June 1974. L to R: Army MI CPT Stuart A. Herrington, FPJMT, U.S. Marines from the Da Nang Consulate, ARVN Military Police, JCRC Air Force MAJ Paul D. Mather, and Air Force LTC Lawrence Robson, FPJMT.

- authority rested with a major general (MG) and the nearest Army MG was the DAO, Saigon. Though MG Homer D. Smith did not leave South Vietnam until 30 April 1975 it is hard to imagine that approval of awards and decorations were a priority. <http://valor.militarytimes.com/recipient.php?recipientid=4504>, accessed 6/22/2015; Welch interview, 29 April 2014; Ulatoski interview, 18 August 2014.
- 41 Project CHECO: JPR in SEA, 32.
  - 42 Ulatoski interview, 18 August 2014.
  - 43 Ulatoski interviews, 22 June 2011 and 18 August 2014.
  - 44 Ulatoski interviews, 22 June 2011 and 18 August 2014.
  - 45 The first two SF detachment commanders were MAJ James E. Yaden (Camden Military School '37) and COL C. Vincent Lang, a former SF FANK (French acronym for *Forces Speciales Khmères* [Khmer National Armed Forces] training commander. McClellan interview, 8 September 2014.
  - 46 Ulatoski interview, 18 August 2014.
  - 47 Providing SF captains to serve as Assistant Desk/Operations Officers in these regions took a little longer because not all JCRC captains were sufficiently mature and experienced to work independently in an American consulate. Retired USMC COL Anthony A. Wood, interview by Briscoe, 5 December 2014, USASOC History Office Classified Files, Fort Bragg, NC, hereafter cited by name and date.
  - 48 Ulatoski interview, 18 August 2014. After assuming command on 8 January 1974, BG Ulatoski abided by BG Kingston's end-of-tour recommendation to reduce the number of field recovery teams based on U.S. Embassy-imposed restrictions in South Vietnam and the status of the war. Launch units were consolidated with FRTs. Initial expectations of expanding responsibilities never materialized. Project CHECO: JPR in SEA, 24, 25, 47, 50.
  - 49 Mather interview, 15 October 2014.
  - 50 Ulatoski interview, 18 August 2014; Retired COL William F. Prince (JCRC), interview by Briscoe, 9 September 2014, USASOC History Office Classified Files, Fort Bragg, NC, hereafter cited by name and date; Mather interview, 15 October 2014.
  - 51 USSAG Command History, 1 April – 30 June 1973, Chapter VI: 159-160; Zerox copies of Polaroid photos taken at aircraft crash site (MIA Army MAJ George Quamo), Mather personal files.
  - 52 USSAG Command History, 1 April – 30 June 1973, Chapter VI: 159-160; Zerox copies of Polaroid photos taken at aircraft crash site (MIA Army MAJ George Quamo) and JCRC-LNS Personnel Roster dated 24 Mar 75, Mather personal files.
  - 53 Zerox copies of Polaroid photos taken at aircraft crash site (MIA Army MAJ George Quamo), Mather personal files.
  - 54 Mather interviews, 15 October and 3 December 2014; declassified AMEMBASSY SAIGON confidential message 151143Z DEC 73, SUBJECT: COMMUNIST ATTACK ON FOUR PARTY JOINT MILITARY TEAM HELICOPTERS; USDAO SAIGON, RVN, unclassified message 151037Z DEC 73, SUBJECT: GVN STATEMENT-ATTACK ON JCRC TEAM MEMBERS; CDR JCRC NKP ARPT THAI/JCRC-OPS unclassified message 190645Z DEC 73, SUBJECT: JCRC OPS SUMMARY 1-73, Mather personal files.
  - 55 The Four Party Joint Military Team in Saigon had Two Party Joint Military Teams (ARVN and Viet Cong) in the regions. After the Communist delegates were stoned by irate South Vietnamese villagers, they refused to populate Two Party Joint Military regional teams. Mather interview, 19 November 2014.
  - 56 About 80 U-17A /B models were used by the South Vietnamese Air Force (VNAF). They were provided under the Military Assistance Program (MAP). The civilian version was the Cessna 185E *Skywagon*. John Andrade, *Militair* 1982 (London: Aviation Press Limited, 1982); "South Viet Nam Air Force – VNAF – Aircraft Deliveries" at <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/vietnam/rvn-vnaf-equipment-data.htm>, accessed 1/23/2015.
  - 57 Mather, M.I.A., 16, 32 (endnote 12); Zerox copies of Polaroid photos taken at aircraft crash site (MIA Army MAJ George Quamo), Mather personal files; "Quamo, George" at <http://www.pownetwork.org/bios/q/q001.htm>, accessed 11/20/2014.
  - 58 Department of Army (DA) Form 20, Enlisted Qualification Record, and DA Form 66, Officer Qualification Record, MAJ George Quamo official records, U.S. National Records Center USNRC), St. Louis, MO.
  - 59 "George Quamo" at <http://projects.militarytimes.com/citations-medals-awards/recipient.php?recipientid=5121>, accessed 12/1/2014; "Rensselaer County 2006 Honor A Veteran Ceremony: George Quamo" at <http://www.rensselaercounty.org/2006%20honor%20a%20veteran.htm>, accessed 12/1/2014; "Local War Veteran Remembered," *Hamlin Clarkson Herald* (NY) at <http://westsidenewsny.com/pastarchives/OldSite/westside/news/2005/0529/features/localwar.html> accessed 12/1/2014; "QUAMO, GEORGE" at <http://www.pownetwork.org/bios/q/q001.htm> accessed 11/20/2014.
  - 60 Retired COL Alfred H. Paddock, Jr., interview by Briscoe, 22 January 2015, USASOC History Office Classified Files, Fort Bragg, NC.
  - 61 Mather interviews, 18 December 2014 and 7 January 2015; Mather email to Briscoe, 12/21/2014; "Charles P. Warren, 66, Anthropology Professor" at [http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1987-12-28/news/8704060463\\_1\\_service-award-black-a...](http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1987-12-28/news/8704060463_1_service-award-black-a...) accessed 1/12/2015; Wilhelm G. Solheim II, "Charles Preston Warren 1921-1987," at [http://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/handle/.../AP-v27n2\\_orbit4.pdf](http://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/handle/.../AP-v27n2_orbit4.pdf) accessed 1/12/2015. Charles P. Warren, the Big Ten's first black quarterback (Northwestern University, B.S. 1947) helped identify military dead following WWII, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War. His specialty was skeletal changes associated with age, sex, and race. After joining the University of Illinois, Chicago faculty in 1955, he worked for CIL/THAI from 1973-1975 and published research on tropical plant growth effects on human body decomposition. U.S. Army CIL (Central Identification Laboratory now in Hawaii) has become one of the premier forensic facilities in the world. Robert B. Pickering and David Bachman, *The Use of Forensic Anthropology: 2nd Edition* (Boca Raton, LA: CRC Press, 2009): 4, 5. The Adjutant General, Department of Army, MG Verne L. Bowers, released a preliminary confirmation message to notify Mr. James Quamo (brother) on 28 June 1974. "Information has been received in this office from the Joint Casualty Resolution Center, NKP, Thailand...the wreckage and type of aircraft indicate a strong possibility that this is the wreckage of your son's aircraft. As soon as the remains can be positively identified, you will be further advised." 001 XV GOVT PD Western Union telegram, Washington, DC 28 June 1974 to Mr. James Quamo. George Quamo official records, USNRC.
  - 62 Letter of Condolence, Phan Heong (Danang) to Quamo Family dated 5 September 1974, MAJ George Quamo official records, USNRC.
  - 63 Retired MG Thomas F. Needham, interview by Briscoe, 29 January 2015, USASOC History Office Classified Files, Fort Bragg, NC.
  - 64 Department of Army. DCRB-DRY (Major Scott W. Grant) Letter to Mr. James Quamo, 133 Coolidge Avenue, Spencerport, New York 14559, dated 9 October 1974, SUBJECT: Travel Expense Reimbursement. MAJ George Quamo official records, USNRC.
  - 65 Letter, James Quamo to John W. Mullen, undated. George Quamo official records, USNRC.
  - 66 Mather interviews, 3 December and 18 December 2014; Wood interview, 16 January 2014; DOD. Defense Prisoner of War/Missing Personnel Office (DPMO). Vietnam War Missing Personnel Report, 7/11/2014, hereafter Vietnam War Missing Report.
  - 67 Mather interviews, 3 December and 18 December 2014.
  - 68 Mather interviews, 3 December and 18 December 2014.
  - 69 Mather interviews, 3 December and 18 December 2014; Vietnam War Missing Personnel Report, 7/11/2014; "Haukness, Steven Andrew 'Steve'" at <http://www.taskforcecainc.org/h600.htm>, accessed 1/21/2015; Department of State. Douglas Ramsey, "POW/MIA Recognition Day," *State Magazine* (September 1999) No. 428: 22; J.R. Bullington, "Religion and Romance in Wartime Vietnam" in *American Diplomacy* at [http://www.anc.edu/depts/diplomat/AD\\_Issues/amdipl\\_8/bullington\\_tet.html](http://www.anc.edu/depts/diplomat/AD_Issues/amdipl_8/bullington_tet.html), accessed 1/21/2015.
  - 70 Project CHECO: JPR in SEA, 50-52.
  - 71 Jordan, "Americans Missing in Southeast Asia," 3; Jordan email to Briscoe, subject: Casualty Resolution Article dated 23 November 2015; Needham interviews, 29 January and 25 November 2015.





*John H.  
Hilldring*

Major General John Henry Hilldring

by Troy J. Sacquety



**MAJOR GENERAL** (MG) John H. Hilldring is a Civil Affairs pioneer. As the head of the Civil Affairs Division (CAD) in WWII, he helped to establish U.S. Military Government and Civil Affairs (CA) policies for operating in occupied areas. Because of his contributions, the Civil Affairs Academic Facility at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, will soon be dedicated to Hilldring. It is a fitting tribute for a man instrumental in establishing modern U.S. Army Civil Affairs. This biographical sketch covers only the highlights of his illustrious twenty-nine year military career.

Born in New Rochelle, New York, on 27 March 1895 to Swedish immigrants, Hilldring spoke their native language fluently.<sup>1</sup> He attended classes for two years at Columbia University in New York City before transferring to the Connecticut State College of Agriculture in Storrs, Connecticut. He spent the next three years there, specializing in Horticulture.<sup>2</sup>

While a student, Hilldring made what would become a life-altering decision by enrolling in the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC), and attending training at Plattsburg, New York. After earning a Bachelor of Science degree on 6 June 1917, he received a U.S. Army reserve commission as a Second Lieutenant of Infantry.<sup>3</sup> In October 1917, he was commissioned in the Regular Army.<sup>4</sup> Hilldring then received orders overseas as part of the rush to get troops to Europe following the 6 April 1917 declaration of war on Germany.

His first assignment was with the 38<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment, 3<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Division, of the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) in France during World War I. There he served as a platoon leader in K Company and later as an intelligence officer in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion.<sup>5</sup> Hilldring later participated in the Aisne (27 May-5 June 1918), Champagne-Marne (15-18 July 1918), and Aisne-Marne (18 July-6 August

1918) campaigns as an Infantry Officer.<sup>6</sup> For its stalwart role in these engagements, the 38<sup>th</sup> earned the nickname, "Rock of the Marne."<sup>7</sup>

For his actions during the Aisne-Marne Offensive, First Lieutenant (1LT) Hilldring earned the Distinguished Service Cross. Hilldring later wrote that of the sixty soldiers his platoon at the beginning of the Aisne-Marne Offensive, only twenty one remained uninjured eight days later.<sup>9</sup> After the Armistice, Hilldring had his first association with Civil Affairs/Military Government when he briefly served with the 355<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment, 89<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division as part of the Rhineland occupation force.

His mother's failing health prompted a return to the United States in the fall of 1919. As one of the few infantry officers retained in the Army after the deep post-WWI personnel cuts, Captain (CPT) Hilldring served as an instructor on detached service with the Texas National Guard. His superiors consistently gave him good evaluations. One glowingly described Hilldring as "efficient beyond those of equal grade and service."<sup>10</sup> In 1926, Hilldring transferred to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Regiment, Fort Sheridan, Illinois, to serve as a supply and then intelligence officer, broadening his experience base.<sup>11</sup>

Three years later, on 14 January 1929, he went to the Philippines, and joined the 57<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment, Philippine Scouts, a constabulary force.<sup>12</sup> Comments on Hilldring's efficiency reports forecasted future assignments: "This officer is highly suitable for contact with civilian components of the Army."<sup>13</sup> Returning to the U.S. in 1931 for the Infantry Officer Advanced Course at Fort Benning, Georgia, CPT Hilldring met then-Lieutenant Colonel George C. Marshall, a future Army Chief of Staff, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, and General of the Army (5 star rank).<sup>14</sup> From that point on, Marshall became a guiding force in Hilldring's Army career.

1LT Hilldring was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross for heroic actions on 22 July 1918 during the Aisne-Marne Offensive.

**Citation:**

"For extraordinary heroism in action in the Fore Forest near Jaulgonne, France, July 22, 1918. During the attack on the slopes of Hill 210, Company K, 38th Infantry, lost contact with the units of the battalion, becoming exposed to a severe flank attack by overwhelming forces of the enemy. Lieutenant Hilldring, in command of a platoon of Company K, repeatedly exposed himself to heavy enemy fire while making personal reconnaissances to the right flank to maintain liaison, consolidate the troops and protect the company . . . Earlier on this day, during an assault against the heights north of Charveves, Lieutenant Hilldring displayed unusual courage in leading two platoon runners in a flank attack against an element of the enemy defense which was firing into the flank and rear of his company, capturing the gun and several prisoners and driving off the other members of the hostile combat group."<sup>8</sup>







Group portrait of officers of the 355th U.S. Infantry.<sup>6</sup>



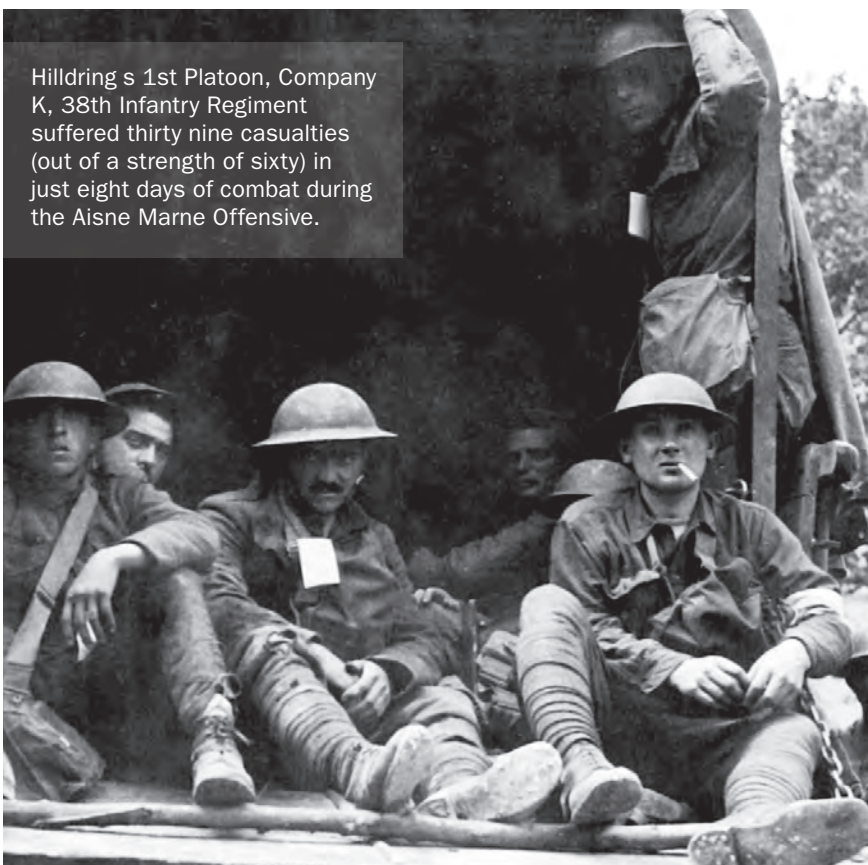
The post WWI occupation of Germany fostered Military Government policies that provided examples for training in WWII. This soldier wears a Third Army SSI. The 'A' inside the 'O' stood for Army of Occupation.







Hilldring's 1st Platoon, Company K, 38th Infantry Regiment suffered thirty nine casualties (out of a strength of sixty) in just eight days of combat during the Aisne Marne Offensive.



World War I period  
Third Infantry  
Division SSI



World War I period  
89th Infantry  
Division SSI



38th Infantry  
Regiment DUI (WWII  
period DUI shown).



355th Infantry  
Regiment DUI (WWII  
period DUI shown).





General George C. Marshall had an extremely positive influence on Hilldring's career. This is when he was Assistant Director of the Infantry School.

At Marshall's behest, Hilldring served a short stint on the Infantry School Staff before attending the Medical Field Service School at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, as the first Infantry representative. Although Hilldring hesitated, Marshall insisted. Hilldring later reflected on the decision, "I didn't realize at the time how important it was in my relationship with General Marshall and therefore to my

own future, that I took his advice. I had the opportunity later to observe colleagues of mine who chose not to accept General Marshall's advice, and they were the losers."<sup>15</sup> At Carlisle, the Camp Commander predicted that Hilldring "will go far in the Army."<sup>16</sup> Promoted to Major (MAJ) on 1 August 1935, Hilldring then attended the Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.<sup>17</sup>

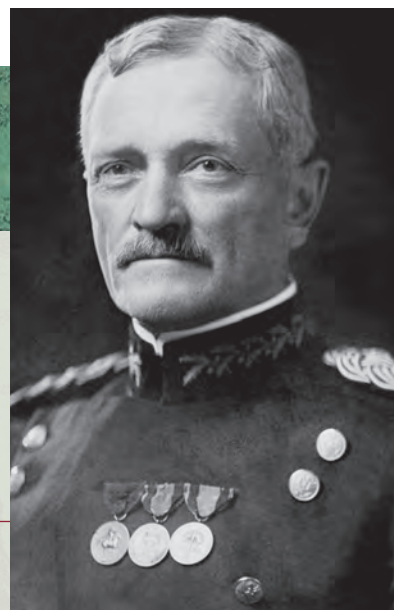
His next assignments with the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) in Arizona dictated that he had to work closely with civilians and local officials. The CCC was a Great Depression-era New Deal public works program that put unmarried young men to work building infrastructure and developing natural resources on public lands. Hilldring's final CCC assignment was as the officer in charge of forty-five camps in the Arizona District. High points during his tour were weekly visits with WWI General of the Armies John J. Pershing, in Tucson.<sup>18</sup> But the assignment was also extremely challenging. Because each of the widely-dispersed camps could have as many as 200 workers, this was a huge level of command responsibility for a junior field officer in terms of administration and personnel issues.

Hilldring received universal praise from civilian officials for his efficient administration of the CCC camps.<sup>19</sup> One colleague commented upon Hilldring's departure: "You leave behind you . . . a large group of admiring and appreciative friends who view your reassignment with mixed feeling—regrets that you are severing your connection to the CCC and with us, coupled with congratulations in this further advancement in your military career."<sup>20</sup> Although he did not know it at the time, MAJ Hilldring would soon use his CCC experience to good advantage in working with high level civilian officials.



Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) patch.

General of the Armies John J. Pershing commanded the American Expeditionary Forces in Western Europe in World War I. When he worked with the CCC in Arizona, Hilldring visited the retired general weekly.







MG Hilldring at Camp Howze, TX, in December 1942. From left to right: Hilldring, Lieutenant General Walter Krueger, MG Courtney H. Hodges, MG Alexander E. Anderson, and John P. Wheeler.<sup>1</sup>



MG Hilldring at the reactivation of the 84th Infantry Division on 15 October 1942 at Camp Howze, Texas. Hilldring commanded the division until February 1943.<sup>5</sup>



84th Infantry Division SSI

In mid-1939, President Franklin D. Roosevelt nominated Brigadier General (BG) Marshall to become the Army Chief of Staff. Marshall called MAJ Hilldring to Washington, D.C., to serve in the Planning Branch, Personnel Division, G-1, of the War Department General Staff.<sup>21</sup> Hilldring's fortuitous placement and the growing U.S. involvement in World War II meant rapid promotions. In 1940, he made Lieutenant Colonel, and a year later, on 22 December 1941, Colonel.<sup>22</sup> Less than a month later (15 January 1942) he was promoted to Brigadier General (BG).<sup>23</sup> As a general officer, Hilldring became Assistant Chief of Staff, G-1, and again garnered the respect of colleagues.<sup>24</sup> BG Wade H. Haislip [a future four-star general], described Hilldring as "an outstanding officer in every respect."<sup>25</sup>

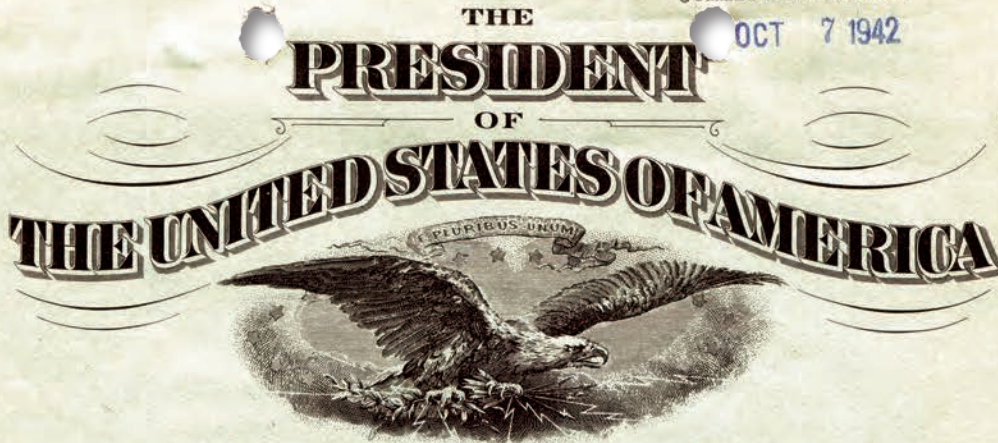
His War Department assignments led to a field command. From July 1942 to April 1943, he was the Commanding General of the mobilizing 84<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division, ordered into active military service on 15 October 1942. The 'Railsplitters' were stationed at Camp Howze, Texas, one of the largest infantry replacement centers in the U.S. He received his promotion to Major General (MG) on 7 September 1942.<sup>26</sup> Events halfway around the globe soon had a life-altering effect on MG Hilldring.

On 2 December 1942, MG Edwin F. Harding, the commander of the 32<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Division (ID), was relieved for his lack of progress against firmly entrenched Japanese positions on New Guinea. General Douglas A. MacArthur, the Supreme Commander, Southwest Pacific Area, requested



Commission Mailed

OCT 7 1942



*To all who shall see these presents, greeting:*  
*Know Ye, that reposing special trust and confidence in the patriotism, valor, fidelity*  
*and abilities of* **John Henry Hilldring**  
*I have nominated and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate do appoint him,*  
**temporarily a Major General** *in*

**The Army of the United States**

*to rank as such from the* **seventh** *day of* **September**  
*nineteen hundred and* **forty-two** *. He is therefore carefully and diligently to*  
*discharge the duty of the office to which he is appointed by doing and performing all*  
*manner of things thereunto belonging.*

*And, I do strictly charge and require all Officers and Soldiers under his command*  
*to be obedient to his orders as an officer of his grade and position. And he is to observe and*  
*follow such orders and directions from time to time, as he shall receive from me, or the*  
*future President of the United States of America, or the General or other Superior*  
*Officers set over him, according to the rules and discipline of War.*

*This Commission to continue in force during the pleasure of the President of the United*  
*States, for the time being, under the provisions of section 127a, National Defense Act,*  
*as amended.*

*Done at the City of Washington, this* **twenty-third** *day of* **September**  
*in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and* **forty-two** *, and of the*  
*Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and* **sixty-seventh** *.*

*By the President:*

**J. A. ULIO**  
*Major General*  
*The Adjutant General.*

**-SEAL-**

**HENRY L. STIMSON**  
*Secretary of War.*

W. D., A. G. O. FORM No. 0660  
OCTOBER 1, 1940

*File*  
*off. 1630-10/7/42*  
*Threger*



Hilldring's commissioning document promoting him to Major General.

European Civil Affairs  
Division SSI





MG Hilldring, in uniform on the right, talking to President Harry S. Truman, left.<sup>4</sup>

Hilldring to take command of the 32<sup>nd</sup> ID. Although bedridden with influenza, Hilldring accepted immediately against his surgeon's advice. Flying to the West Coast, he suffered "a hell of a heart attack and wound up in Letterman Hospital [San Francisco, California] flat on [his] back," in February 1943.<sup>27</sup> A medical board determined that although MG Hilldring was "physically unfit for general service," he could continue to perform "limited service within the continental limits of the United States in a War Department Overhead or Service Command unit."<sup>28</sup>

MG Hilldring contacted GEN Marshall to explain his predicament.<sup>29</sup> Although the doctors predicted that he had just six months to live if he did not retire, Hilldring pleaded that "I'm a professional soldier in the middle of a war and how long I live I don't think is particularly significant to the Army . . . General I'd like a job."<sup>30</sup> In return, Marshall telegraphed: "You have my deep sympathy in your misfortune. Try to possess yourself with patience and do everything the Doctors direct, that we may regain your services at an early date, probably here in Washington."<sup>31</sup> Orders came on 31 March 1943, assigning MG Hilldring to the Office of the Chief of Staff, in Washington, DC.<sup>32</sup>

Capitalizing on Hilldring's post-WWI experience, in April 1943 GEN Marshall appointed him chief of the Civil Affairs Division (CAD).<sup>33</sup> As head of the CAD, he was "responsible for providing the Secretary of War with information and advice with which to establish policies in connection with the function of military government and civil affairs in areas occupied in the course of military operations in all Theaters of War." Contemporary sources note that "This was the first time in the history of the War Department that the subject

of Army control of civilian populations in war areas in furtherance of military operations had been given complete recognition."<sup>34</sup> This was a significant step in recognizing CA as a separate military specialty. Hilldring also assumed other duties associated with CAD.

Military government and civil affairs policies had to be coordinated with allied powers. Therefore, on 8 August 1944, Hilldring joined the Combined Liberated Areas Committee, an organization formed to "consider and agree upon policies for liberated areas during the post-military period."<sup>35</sup> He also was the War Department representative to the Combined Civil Affairs Committee (CCAC) of the Combined Chiefs of Staff. Deputies from the War Department (Army), Navy, Department of State, the British Foreign Office, two from the British Joint Staff Mission, one American civilian, and a British civilian formed this body. The CCAC served to:

- 1 "Recommend to the Combined Chiefs of Staff general policies which should be adopted for civil affairs, including supply and related matters,"
- 2 "Under the direction of the Combined Chiefs of Staff be responsible for the broad civil affairs planning and the direction of civil affairs problems presented to the Combined Chiefs of Staff by theater commanders," and
- 3 "Under the direction of the Combined Chiefs of Staff be responsible for the coordination of the British and American military and naval establishments with the appropriate civilian departments and agencies of the respective governments which are concerned with civil affairs matters."<sup>36</sup>



MG Hilldring aptly led the CAD, as evidenced by his numerous awards. He received the Distinguished Service Medal (DSM) for exceptionally meritorious and distinguished service for his service in the G-1 during WWII. He also received an Oak Leaf Cluster to the DSM for his leadership of the CAD. The citation noted that MG Hilldring's "accomplishments have been a distinct and noteworthy contribution toward the successful culmination of the war."<sup>37</sup> However, his government service was not quite over.

In February 1946, the Department of State assumed responsibility for the administration of occupation governments. Hilldring retired as a Major General on 31 July 1946 to fill the Department of State position of Assistant Secretary of State for Occupied Areas.<sup>38</sup> In his new position, Hilldring was "directly responsible to the [Secretary of State] for the coordination of State [Department] policy with respect to all occupation matters."<sup>39</sup> After resigning from that position in September 1947, he received a subsequent appointment as an alternate U.S. delegate to the United Nations General Assembly. There he served as "the principal U.S. spokesman in the 1947 debates about Palestine."<sup>40</sup> However, the retired general resigned shortly afterwards for health reasons.<sup>41</sup>

Hilldring next became a business executive with General Aniline & Film Corporation, retiring in 1961. Simultaneously, he was the first president of the Military Government Association, today's Civil Affairs Association. He died on 14 January 1974, and was survived by his wife, Florence.



MG Hilldring aboard the SS Isle of Guernsey.<sup>2</sup>



MG Hilldring received the Distinguished Service Medal (DSM) for his WWII service in the G-1.

State Department Chief of Protocol Stanley Woodward, Sr. administers the oath of office to Hilldring for service as the Assistant Secretary of State for Occupied Areas in the Department of State, 1946.<sup>3</sup>







A junior officer in the European Civil Affairs Division, Lieutenant Eli Nobleman presides over a Summary Court in Germany after WWII. Nobleman retired as a Colonel and later served as chairman of the Civil Affairs Association for many years.

Today, MG Hilldring is primarily remembered for his WWII leadership of the CAD. In that role he oversaw the development of Civil Affairs doctrine during the war and helped direct its application in occupied areas. The success of the CAD under his direction helped Civil Affairs remain a core Army function in the post-war period. This is why the CA School building will be named in his honor. ♣

*Thanks to Dave Kaufman, Eric Kilgore at the NPRC, Judith Cohen at the U.S. Holocaust Museum, Joan Sharpe, Frank Hanner at the National Infantry Museum, William Yarborough and Latif Taril at the U.S. Army Center of Military History, Terry Foster at USAHEC, David S. Stiegham at Ft. Benning, Paul B. Barron at the George C. Marshall Foundation, Mr. Alexander F. Barnes, and Ms. Alinda Borell of The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, for their help with this article.*

#### **TROY J. SACQUETY, PhD**

Troy J. Sacquety earned an MA from the University of Nebraska-Lincoln and his PhD in Military History from Texas A&M University. Prior to joining the USASOC History Office staff he worked several years for the Central Intelligence Agency. Current research interests include Army and Office of Strategic Services (OSS) special operations during World War II, and U.S. Army Civil Affairs.

#### **Endnotes**

- Officers' Rating Card for Hilldring, John Henry, 14 December 1918, John H. Hilldring Service Record, National Archives and Records Administration, National Personnel Records Center (NPRC), St. Louis, MO. (hereafter Hilldring Service Record)
- Officers' Rating Card for Hilldring, John Henry, 17 April 1919, Hilldring Service Record. *In 1939 the Connecticut State College became the University of Connecticut.* See Nancy H. Bull, "Education in Action: A Story of Commitment, Challenge, and Change: Connecticut Cooperative Extension System, University of Connecticut, 1960-2008," 2011, found on internet at [http://extension.uconn.edu/documents/ces-history\\_bw\\_6\\_20\\_11.pdf](http://extension.uconn.edu/documents/ces-history_bw_6_20_11.pdf), accessed 29 October 2015.
- Leslie T. Saul, "Proceedings of a board of officers convened at Plattsburg Barracks, NY," 23 July 1917, Hilldring Service Record.
- John H. Hilldring, "Oath of Office," 25 May 1920, Hilldring Service Record.
- Officers' Rating Card for Hilldring, John Henry, 14 December 1918, Hilldring Service Record.
- These included the Marne Offensive and Defense, the Battle of Chateau Thierry, and the Second Battle of the Marne.*
- Campaign dates are the official dates as listed by the U.S. Army Center of Military History, on internet at [http://www.history.army.mil/html/reference/army\\_flag/wwi.html](http://www.history.army.mil/html/reference/army_flag/wwi.html), accessed 26 May 2015.
- War Department, General Orders No. 1, 1 February 1937, John H. Hilldring, Hilldring Service Record. *The Department of the Army approved the award on 24 March 1936.* See "Distinguished Service Cross," 24 March 1936, Hilldring Service Record.
- John H. Hilldring, "Operations of the 1<sup>st</sup> Platoon, Company K, 38<sup>th</sup> Infantry (3d Division), in the Aisne-Marne Offensive, July 20-July 23, 1918. (personal experience of a platoon commander)," The Infantry School, Advanced Course 1931-1932, p. 36, on internet at <http://www.benning.army.mil/library/content/Virtual/Donovanpapers/wwi/STUP1/HilldringJohn%20H.%20CPT.pdf>, accessed 11 May 2015.
- Colonel L.F. Kilbourne, "Efficiency Report for John H. Hilldring," 1 July 1926, Hilldring Service Record.
- [extract from, originator unknown], Special Orders 94, 21 April 1926, p. 17, copy Hilldring Service Record.
- J.H. Hilldring to Commanding General, Philippine Department, "Extension of tour of service," 20 May 1930, Hilldring Service Record.
- COL Edgar A. Myer, "Efficiency Report John H. Hilldring," 5 July 1929, Hilldring Service Record..
- Special Order 248, 23 October 1930, p. 2., Hilldring Service Record.



- 15 John H. Hilldring, interviewed by Forrest C. Pogue, 30 March 1959, Tape 42, Copy 2, p. 3, George C. Marshall Foundation, Lexington, VA. Hereafter Pogue interview.
- 16 Charles LeBaron, Jr., "Commendation of Captain J.H. Hilldring, Infantry," 18 July 1933, Hilldring Service Record.
- 17 Military Education, Hilldring Service Record.
- 18 Pogue interview, p. 5.
- 19 See numerous letters of commendation contained in Hilldring Service Record.
- 20 Frank C. Pooler to John H. Hilldring, "my Dear Major Hilldring," 15 June 1939, Hilldring Service Record.
- 21 Pogue interview, p. 7.
- 22 William A Beach to John H. Hilldring, "Temporary Appointment, Army of the United States," 31 December 1941, Hilldring Service Record.
- 23 "Commissioning Certificate to Brigadier General for John Henry Hilldring," 20 January 1942, Hilldring Service Record.
- 24 "Special Order 29," 3 February 1942, Hilldring Service Record.
- 25 J.A. Ulio, "Statement of the Military Service of John Henry Hilldring," [1942], Hilldring Service Record.
- 26 "Commissioning Certificate to Major General for John Henry Hilldring," 23 September 1942, Hilldring Service Record.
- 27 Pogue interview, p. 24.
- 28 "Detail for the Board: Letterman General Hospital," 2 April 1943, Hilldring Service Record.
- 29 Pogue interview, p. 24.
- 30 Pogue interview, p. 25.
- 31 Telegram from George C. Marshall to Hilldring, "Major General John H. Hilldring, Letterman Hospital," 19 February 1943, Hilldring Service Record.
- 32 M.G. White, "Memorandum for the Adjutant General," 31 March 1943, Hilldring Service Record.
- 33 Memo #WD10-1-43, WD, 4 May 1943, Hilldring Service Record. **The CAD was formally established on 4 May 1943.**
- 34 William C. Chanler to The Adjutant General, War Department, "Recommendation for Award of Legion of Merit to Major General John H. Hilldring, U.S.A.," 21 August 1945, Hilldring Service Record.
- 35 Acting Secretary if War, "AG 334 Liberated Areas Comm.," 8 August 1944, Hilldring Service Record.
- 36 William C. Chanler to The Adjutant General, War Department, "Recommendation for Award of the Oak Leaf Cluster in Lieu of Second Distinguished Service Medal to Major General John H. Hilldring, U.S.A.," 21 August 1945, Hilldring Service Record.
- 37 "Citation for Distinguished Service Medal (Oak Leaf Cluster)," 24 September 1945, Hilldring Service Record.
- 38 War Department Washington, "The proceedings and findings..." 25 July 1946, Hilldring Service Record. **Hilldring's permanent rank was Lieutenant Colonel, but he retired at his temporary rank of Major General. MG Oliver P. Echols took over as the Chief of the CAD. See Special Order 66, 20 March 1946, Hilldring Service Record.**
- 39 D.S. Dunlap to the Adjutant General, U.S. Army, "Army Officer on duty with State Department," 16 September 1946, Hilldring Service Record.
- 40 "General Hilldring, First CAA President," *Civil Affairs Journal and Newsletter*, (Vol 27, Nos 1,2) January-February 1974, 1
- 41 Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State, "John Henry Hilldring (1895-1974), found on internet at <http://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/people/hilldring-john-henry>, accessed 2 June 2015.

## Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History Images Endnotes

- 1 "Scrapbook, Vol. I., John H Hilldring, Circa 1940-1945 (Courtesy of The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC06196.105)"
- 2 "Scrapbook, Vol. III., John H Hilldring, Circa 1940-1945 (Courtesy of The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC06196.107)"
- 3 "Scrapbook, Vol. IV., John H Hilldring, Circa 1940-1945 (Courtesy of The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC06196.108)"
- 4 "Portrait in uniform, John H Hilldring, Circa 1940-1945 (Courtesy of The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC06196.220)"
- 5 "Portrait in uniform, John H Hilldring, Circa 1940-1945 (Courtesy of The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC06196.221)"
- 6 "Group portrait, John H Hilldring, Circa 1940-1945 (Courtesy of The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC06196.237)"



The CA School at Fort Bragg will be named for MG Hilldring. It is a fitting tribute to an officer who was so influential in perpetuating the legacy of Military Government and Civil Affairs.





# Night Stalker 35th Anniversary Issue COMMEMORATIVE

The USASOC History Office will produce a special commemorative issue of Veritas in October 2016 to celebrate the 35th Anniversary of the 160th Special Operations Aviation Regiment, the 'Night Stalkers.' An illustrated, historical timeline will show evolution from a Task Force (TF) to a Special Operations Aviation Group (SOAG) to the four-battalion Regiment (SOAR) and the creation of the Army Special Operations Aviation Command. The introduction of new aircraft models, equipment, organizational growth, assessment and training development, unique capabilities, and overseas SOA unit stationing will be associated with the major national (foreign & domestic) and international events and Army decisions that impacted ARSOF.

Articles will cover modern military use of helicopters to the four 160th Battalion and Regiment histories to SIMO (Systems Integration Management Office), SOATB (Special Operations Aviation Training Battalion from Green Platoon), Safety, and Standards & Qualification. Each flight battalion will have three articles of their choice included as well. The Memorial section will have a chronological listing of the fallen Night Stalkers and

highlight some of the unit memorialization. There will be an RCO section wherein the former leaders cite their biggest accomplishment/challenge while in command.

Obviously, the USASOC historians will be adhering to the USSOCOM-approved publication security protocols. 'Sanitized' versions of all proposed articles, timelines, illustrations, schematics, photographs & captions have to be 'vetted' at USASOC before SIPR distribution to the SOAR units and staffs for review, comments, and corrections. Review suspense will be short in order to meet early May 2016 submission to the GPO publisher to have delivery NLT 1 October 2016 for the 35th Anniversary activities. While Dr. Chuck Briscoe, the USASOC Command Historian, is lead for this project, feel free to contact any historians listed on the inside front cover. Please make this anniversary issue of Veritas a memorable success for the Night Stalkers. ↑

**Michael J. Hertzendorf**  
Colonel, Aviation  
Commanding





**Placed** in the USASOC Memorial Plaza on 30 June 2015, the Task Force VIKING paver stone pays tribute to the American and Allied Soldiers, Marines, and Airmen who participated in the opening phases of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM (OIF).

Task Force VIKING (CJSOTF – North) was formed in March 2003 from elements of the 10th Special Forces Group (Airborne); 173rd Airborne Brigade; 10th Mountain Division; Company A, 9th PSYOP Battalion; 96th and 404th Civil Affairs Battalions; 26th Marine Expeditionary Unit (MEU); 352nd Special Operations Group, Air Force Special Operations Command (AFSOC); and the British Special Boat Service (SBS). Spearheaded by a three and a half hour, low level ingress known

as Operation UGLY BABY, TF Viking landed in Northern Iraq; linked up with Kurdish freedom fighters (Peshmerga); and liberated the cities of Mosul, Tikrit, and Kirkuk as well as the surrounding oil fields. TF VIKING accomplished all missions while facing a threat from 13 Iraqi Divisions (two of them Saddam's elite Republican Guard); Ansar al Islam (who had connections with Al Qaida, Hezbollah, and Hamas); the Iraqi Intelligence Service; the Special Security Organization; and Iraqi Special Mission Units.

Adopting "Concede Nothing" as their unit motto, seven TF VIKING soldiers were awarded Silver Stars and 52 others received Bronze Stars with "V" device for Valor for their actions from March to April 2003. ⬆

by Eugene G. Piasecki





# TASK FORCE VIKING

## "CONCEDE NOTHING"



NORTHERN IRAQ UNCONVENTIONAL WARFARE CAMPAIGN  
17 MARCH TO 12 MAY 2003





Commander, USASOC  
ATTN: AOHS (Veritas)  
E-2929 Desert Storm Drive  
Fort Bragg, NC 28310

## Future *Veritas*...

The next issue of *Veritas* will address selected areas of special operations in Afghanistan. Starting with a history of the Combined Joint Special Operations Task Force—Afghanistan (CJSOTF-A), 2002-2014, additional articles will examine SOF activities across the spectrum of conflict. These include Village Stability Operations (VSO) and the role of Military Information Support Operations in promoting Afghan nationalism and CJSOTF-A objectives. Also in this issue will be a timeline for the female Cultural Support Teams (CST) and their service as SOF combat multipliers.

The Senior Medical Sergeant of Special Forces ODA 7224 provides overwatch of the drop zone at Nili Village in Day Kundi Province, Afghanistan, during parachute resupply in late Summer, 2009. As one of the first SF units to conduct Village Stability Operations (VSO), ODA 7224 provided important feedback that helped shape the expansion of VSO throughout Afghanistan.

